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A F R I C A

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AN ANALYTICAL COMMENTARY ON THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE DOGON¹

DAVID TAIT

IT is useful to review existing ethnographic writings from time to time in the light of advancing theory. The data considered here are contained in an impressive body of first-rate material collected in accordance with the best descriptive methods on which French ethnographers rely. This paper is in no sense a summary of the data collected by the various Missions Griaule; it is an 'analytical commentary' dealing only with the social system of the Dogon of Sanga that a structural analysis of the material reveals. Its purpose is to direct attention to some problems of structure for which further investigation is needed. It can most usefully be read side by side with the principal works on this people so far published.

INTRODUCTION

The Dogon are found in the administrative region of Mopti in the French Soudan. They inhabit the cliffs of Bandiagara and Hombori and spread out on to the plain which lies to the south of these cliffs (see map 1). They are known to their Fulbe neighbours as the Habbe; and to the Mossi as the Kibissi. Some traditions link the Dogon with Mande (or Mali).² According to Delafosse the Tombo group of peoples, to which the Dogon belong, was formed by the mingling of some Melistines and a great number of people expelled from what are now the Yatenga and Mossi chiefdoms at the time of Dagomba conquests in those regions. Parallels may, in fact, be drawn between the Dogon dances, initiation rites, and the use of a secret language by the *Awa*, or Men's Society, and similar institutions found among the Mossi.³ Their language is classed by Delafosse with his Voltaic family, to which the Mole-Dagbane languages also belong, and not with the Mande family.⁴ Whatever may be the truth about the origins of the Dogon they have had a long history of war with their neighbours, and the cliff-dwelling Dogon at least live in what were once fortified villages. Ruined defensive walls still surround them. The total population figure is not certain,

¹ Professor M. Griaule and Mme G. Dieterlen have been good enough to read and comment on this study before publication. In addition to clarifying several points in the text they have contributed several notes based on material that they and their colleagues have obtained since the publication of the studies used by the author. These are given as foot-

notes at appropriate places in the text.—Ed.

² Delafosse, M., *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, Paris, 1912; Paulme, D., *Organisation sociale des Dogon (Soudan français)*, Paris, 1940.

³ Dim Delobsom, A. A., *L'Empire du Mogho Naba*, Paris, 1933.

⁴ Delafosse, M., *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 363.

but the region of Sanga, in which the Missions Griaule¹ were centred, consists of fifteen villages of which the largest comprises some eight hundred souls. Along the cliffs are scattered more than one hundred villages.

The Dogon are in the main agriculturists whose staple crop is millet, though they also cultivate rice, maize, bananas, peppers, onions, tomatoes, tobacco, &c. They keep some sheep and goats but only a few individuals own cattle. They have many fowls. Markets are held every fourth day at Sanga. To this market come travelling traders with European goods; Peuls (Fulani) come with meat and milk. Some native Dogon traders are drawn from the Shoe-makers' (or Leather-workers') caste. Women spin yarn and dye the cloth the men have woven. Only the wives of men of the Shoe-maker caste may dye the indigo fabrics which are used in rites.

The territorial distribution of the Dogon people is in quarters of villages, villages, and in regions or cantons composed of groups of villages. Dispersed through these units are five Dogon tribes referred to by the various authors as Dyon, Arou, Ono, Domno, and Kor. The three last named are spoken of as one tribe subdivided into three, but no account of this subdivision is yet available. A tribe is held to consist of all the descendants in the male line of one of three ancestors who come from Mande and whose descendants, according to the Dogon, to-day form their people. These tribes are scattered throughout Dogonland. It is not easy to see from the present distribution of the tribes whether or not there were once tribal districts.² On the whole the regions chiefly occupied by Dyon lineages tend to lie on the plain to the south of the cliffs and towards their westerly end, while those regions occupied by Arou and Ono lineages tend to lie on the plateau north of the cliffs. But there are many exceptions.

At present the largest political unit in Dogonland is a 'region' which may be described as being a Dyon or Arou or Ono tribal region because the dominant lineages in it belong to one or other of those tribes. In terms of social structure, a region is composed of a number of lineages, each one segmented. In terms of territorial distribution it is composed of villages and the lands held by the inhabitants of those villages. Villages have a structure composed either of several segmented lineages or of one segmented lineage. Some villages are divided into quarters. A quarter is territorially a section of a village; in social structure it is composed of one segmented lineage and perhaps one or more 'attached' lineages. The term 'attached lineage' is borrowed from Fortes³ and will be explained below. A quarter of a village and a village composed of one segmented lineage appear to be structurally co-ordinate.

The region of Sanga consists of the following villages in which the dominant lineages belong to the Dyon tribe: Upper Ogol, Lower Ogol, Upper Sangui, Lower Sangui, Upper Ennguel, Lower Ennguel, Dini; together with the following addi-

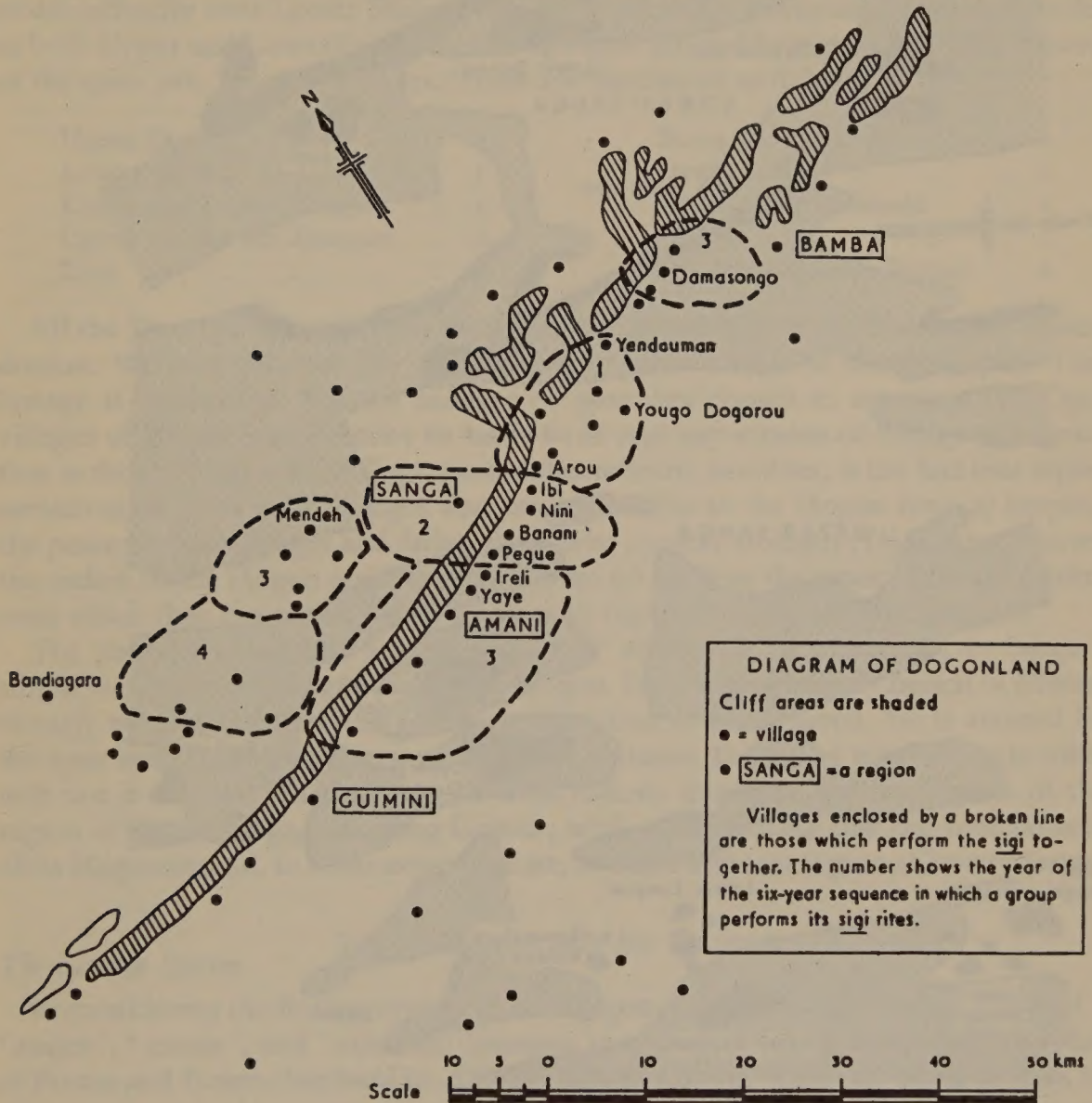
¹ Books by members of the Missions Griaule include: Griaule, M., *Masques dogons*, Paris, 1938; Paulme, D., *Organisation sociale des Dogon (Soudan français)*, Paris, 1940; de Ganay, S., *Les Devises des Dogons*, Paris, 1941, *Le Binou Yébéné*, Paris, 1942; Dieterlen, G., *Les Âmes des Dogons*, Paris, 1941. The Missions Griaule have so far done intensive work on social organization in the regions of Upper and Lower Sanga only. The structural relations discussed in the paper can, therefore, refer only to those regions.

² In other sections possible connexions between regions will be discussed. Upper and Lower Sanga, Banani, Ireli, Ibi, and Nina appear to be united by ritual and other ties. The Dyon tribe, as have the other tribes, has its migration legends which account for the scattering of members of the tribe throughout Dogonland. In the migration legends of the Dyon tribe Sanga, Ireli, and Ibi are closely linked.

³ Fortes, Meyer, *Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, London, 1945.

tional villages in which the dominant lineages belong to the Arou tribe: Barkou, Barna, Dyamini Na, Dyamini Kouradondo, Gogoli, Upper Bongo, Lower Bongo. Finally there is the Leather-workers' village.

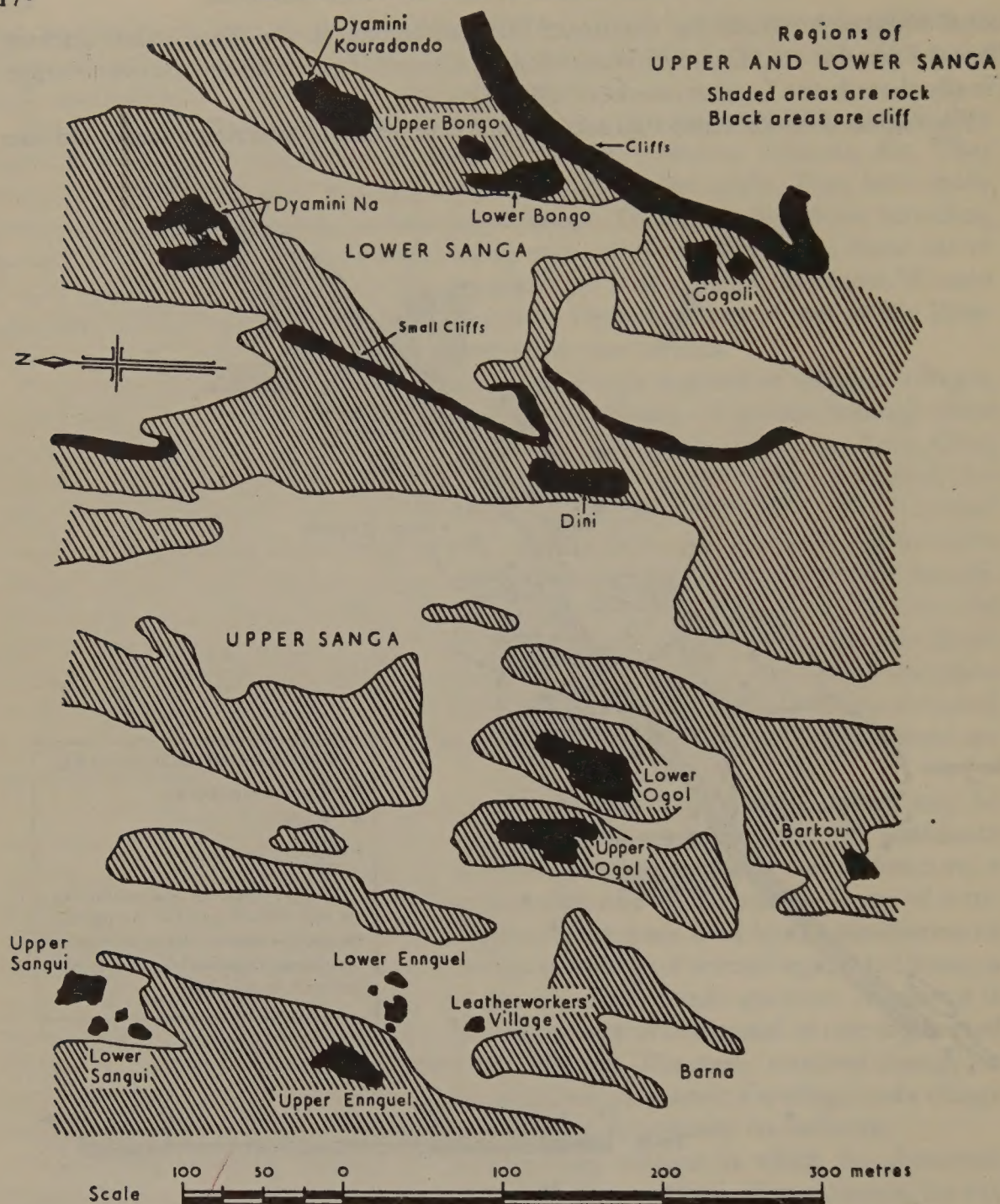
The region is divided into two sub-regions. The seven Dyon tribe villages and also



MAP I.

Barna and Barkou lie in Upper Sanga; the remaining five Arou tribe villages lie in Lower Sanga. The distinction between these two sub-regions is maintained by Griaule in his *Masques dogons*, since the *Awa*—that is, the Men's Society with its own rites and secret language—draws its members from Upper Sanga only; Lower Sanga has a separate Men's Society. Politically, according to Paulme, the two sub-regions appear to be united under one Hogon. Yet the Hogonship is a ritual and political office held by a lineage head who is the senior among the Dyon lineage heads of Sanga, and the precise nature of the Hogon's jurisdiction over Lower Sanga is not very clear. According to Dogon traditions the ancestors brought earth for an

AN ANALYTICAL COMMENTARY ON



MAP 2.

altar with them from Mande.¹ This earth was divided among the three tribes before they separated. The Dyon tribe further subdivided their share among what will here be termed their constituent maximal lineages. The Arou tribe did not subdivide their share but built a single altar or shrine at the village of Arou. The shrines thus built are called Lébé altars and are prominent in sowing and harvest festivals.

Upper Sanga is, in the main, composed of members of the Dyon tribe; Lower

¹ These are the Lébé shrines. Lébé was himself the common ancestor of the eponymous ancestors Dyon, Arou, and Ono.

Sanga wholly of members of the Arou tribe. The inhabitants of Upper Sanga have a Lébé shrine in the village of Upper Ogol. The inhabitants of Lower Sanga, it must be assumed, look to the Lébé shrine in the village called Arou which lies some distance from them at the foot of the cliffs. The Hogon of Upper Sanga can have no ritual authority over Lower Sanga. He is responsible for maintaining peace and order in both Upper and Lower Sanga. In this task he is assisted by eighteen officials known as the *ogono seru*, Hogon's officers. These are distributed as follows:

Upper Ogol	2	Barna and Barkou	1
Lower Ogol	3	Dyamini Na	1
Upper and Lower Sangui	2	Dyamini Kouradondo	2
Upper and Lower Ennguel	2	Gogoli	1
Dini	2	Upper and Lower Bongo	2

All the Dyon people of Upper Sanga claim descent from a single ancestor, Dyandoulou. We may call him the apical ancestor for a lineage of maximal span. This lineage is segmented. But the number of *ogono seru* chosen to represent the Ogol villages of Upper Sanga cannot be made to fit into any scheme of lineage segmentation in those villages. More important at the moment, however, is the fact that representatives of Arou tribe lineages also are responsible to the Hogon for: (a) keeping the peace in their villages and fining those who quarrel violently; (b) making known the orders of the Hogon and executing them; (c) keeping the peace in Sanga market over which they preside in a body along with representatives of Dyon lineages.

The political unit called by the authors a 'region' is not, it seems, in Sanga a simple structure. At its head stands the Hogon. He presides over a Council of Elders, though we do not know the precise composition of his Council. He is assisted by the *ogono seru* (Hogon's officers) in certain of his tasks. But Sanga is not a single tribal unit nor is it a single ritual unit. In what follows it will be better to speak of the region of Upper Sanga, following Griaule, while remembering that the jural powers of its Hogon extend, to some extent at least, over the adjacent region of Lower Sanga.

THE SEGMENTATION OF SOCIETY

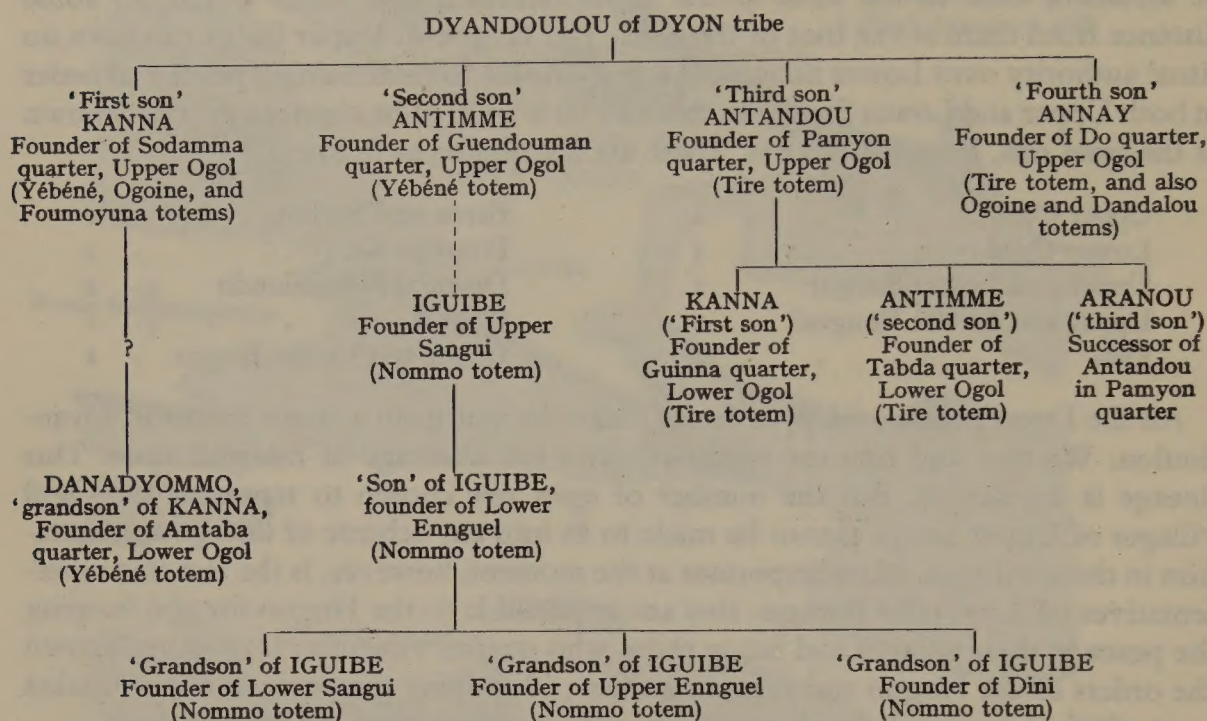
The Lineage System

In considering the lineage system of the Dogon, I introduce the terms 'maximal', 'major', 'minor', and 'minimal' lineages, in a sense differing somewhat from that of Fortes and Evans-Pritchard in *African Political Systems*. They are used, at first, to designate a ritual hierarchy of lineage segments because one can at present best see the segmentation of Dogon lineages in ritual and in territorial distribution. Towards the close of this section I try to demonstrate through a diagram (chart 4) that with more complete genealogical material these terms could probably be applied to Dogon society in the genealogical sense.

The myths of the Dogon recount that Upper Sanga was founded by Dyandoulou, a 'son' of Dyon; and that Lower Sanga was founded by Kekewala, a 'son' of Arou. From Dyandoulou lines of putative descent are traced to the founders of the other villages and quarters of Upper Sanga. Similar lines are traced from Kekewala to the founders of the villages and quarters of Lower Sanga.

Chart I shows the villages and their founding ancestors who are seen to be

DIAGRAMMATIC SUMMARY OF THE FOUNDING LEGENDS OF LINEAGES OF UPPER SANGA



Note: The connexion between IGUIBE and ANTIMME is assumed.

The recorded traditions do not state from which of the quarters of Upper Ogol IGUIBE came.

CHART 1.

descended from the ancestor Dyandoulou. I assume, for convenience, that Iguibe came from Guendouman Quarter of Upper Ogol, though the tradition relates him only to Upper Ogol. This can then be interpreted as a genealogy.

Paulme¹ gives a number of genealogies. If part of one of these be added to the relevant portion of the above chart the result showing in Chart 2 is obtained. The group descended from Ampili is called a *tire togu* and of this group Gimmogo, who was alive in 1935, is the head. We may call this a minimal lineage. The group descended from Kanna is called a *toгу* (or *ginna* or *ginu na*), and we may call it a minor lineage. There is no Dogon term given by our authorities for the group descended from Antandou, but we may call it a major lineage. Nor is there apparently a Dogon term for the group descended from Dyandoulou, which we call a maximal lineage. There is, so far as is yet known, no tribal system comparable to that of, say, the Nuer, though future study of the reported subdivisions of the Ono tribe may reveal one.

Before going on to consider more fully the segmentation of the lineages of the villages of Upper and Lower Ogol, the system as it has so far been outlined can be demonstrated by a brief consideration of the ancestor shrines and lineage heads. Gimmogo, who is shown in chart 2, is head of an *extended family* consisting of his son and his son's wife, and as a family head is entitled to inhabit one or other of the 'houses of the old world' which are owned by his *minimal lineage* and to which land

¹ Paulme, D., op. cit., pp. 55 ff., gives three genealogies only: that of the Doziou Orey lineage of Lower Ogol; that of the Amtaba lineage of Lower Ogol; and that of the Guinna lineage of Lower Ogol.

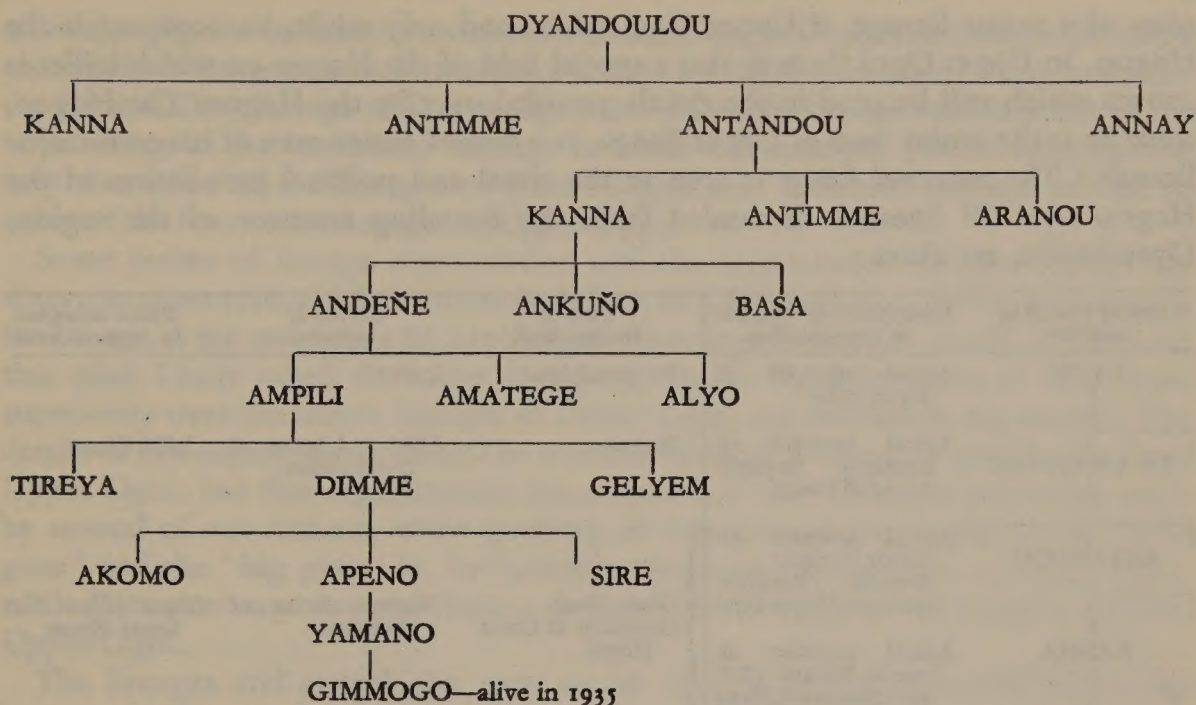


CHART 2.

is attached. In such houses lie the *ommolo* shrines of the extended family. There is also a *ginna* (*ginu na*, or great house) in which he, as head of the minimal lineage which occupies part of a quarter, could live and in which there lie the *anayimung* (ancestor shrine) and *yayimung* (ancestress shrine). Since he is at the same time head of his *minor lineage*, he, in fact, lives in a house in which lies the *wagem* ancestor shrine of this lineage of wider span, and he is known as the *ginna bana*,¹ that is, he is head of his quarter in Pamyon in Lower Ogol, for each quarter (or village which is not divided into quarters) is occupied and headed by a dominant lineage which may or may not be the sole lineage there and which is a segment of minor span.

In Sanga the four quarters of Upper Ogol and the four quarters of Lower Ogol are occupied by the lineages of minor span. It is from these lineages, the Arou lineage of Lower Ogol excluded, that the Hogon of Upper Sanga is taken. He is the senior man of these lineages. Upper Ogol, however, is ritually superior to Lower Ogol and if the Hogon was born into Lower Ogol he must leave there and live in a *ginna* owned by his lineage in Upper Ogol. If he comes from the quarters of Guinna or Tabda he moves into Pamyon quarter, Upper Ogol. If he comes from Amtaba quarter he moves into Sodamma quarter, Upper Ogol. In this we can see the lineage segment of major span, for the ritual superiority of the quarters of Upper Ogol shows them to be of a higher order of segmentation than those of Lower Ogol. The house occupied by the Hogon is known as the *Lébé ginna*; the term being applied to the

¹ The use of the term 'ginna' or 'ginu na' is not yet clear. We find references to the 'Big Ginna' and the 'Little Ginna' (for example in de Ganay, *Le Binou Yébéné*). Paulme says of the *ginna* 'les indigènes se servent en général du même terme (*ginna*, *ginna*) pour désigner tantôt l'habitation, tantôt le groupe social' (p. 92). Further (p. 123), she says that the term *togu* refers to a 'Men's House', and (p. 62) that

the *tire togu* is a segment of the *ginna*, when the latter term refers to a social group. Dieterlen uses the term *togu* to denote the social unit Paulme calls a *ginna*, the term *ginna* to denote the house of the *togu*, and the term *tire ginna* to denote the house of the *tire togu*. *Ginna* and *tire ginna* must, then, be the Dogon terms translated by 'Big Ginna' and 'Little Ginna'.

ginna of a major lineage of Upper Ogol while, and only while, its occupant is the Hogon. In Upper Ogol there is also a special field of the Hogon on which millet is grown which will be used in the rituals presided over by the Hogon. The Hogon, since he is the senior man of Upper Sanga, is *a fortiori* senior man of his own major lineage.¹ The *maximal lineage* is seen in the ritual and political jurisdiction of the Hogon over all lineages descended from the founding ancestor of the region, Dyandoulou, see chart 3.

Name of founding ancestor	Description of ancestor in segmentation	Title of lineage head	Shrine of segment	House occupied by segment head
DYON	Apical ancestor of Dyon tribe	No tribal head	Lébé†	..
DYANDOULOU	Apical ancestor of maximal lineage; founded Sanga	Hogon	Lébé and house of Dyandoulou	Lébé Ginna
ANTANDOU	Apical ancestor of major lineage; founded Pamyon quarter, Upper Ogol	Ginna Bana Guardian of Great House	Wagem shrine of ancestors	Ginna (Ginu Na) Great House
KANNA	Apical ancestor of minor lineage (<i>Togu</i>); founded Guinna quarter, Lower Ogol			
ANDEÑE	..			
AMPILI	Apical ancestor of minimal lineage (<i>Tire Togu</i>)			
DIMME	..	..	..	..
APENO	..	..	..	..
YAMANO	..	..	..	..
GIMMOGO alive in 1935	Head of an extended family	..	Ommolo of the Family 'Place of the living'	One of the 'Houses of the old world'

Note: † The traditional 'first man' who died and was revived.

Among the Dyon the Lébé shrine is divided, each maximal lineage having created its own. Among the Arou there is only one shrine for the whole tribe, situated in the village Arou.

CHART 3.

In sum, the quarters of Upper and Lower Ogol appear to be structurally co-ordinate in that each has a *wagem* shrine. Yet the shrines of Upper Ogol are ritually superior to those of Lower Ogol and the lineages there may, in virtue of that fact, be described as major lineages. Like the lineages of Lower Ogol they also function as minor lineages and are segmented into minimal lineages, each segment having an *anayimung* shrine. It is perhaps at the minimal level, perhaps at the minor level that the lineages of the Sanguis, Ennguels, and Dini are linked to the system. According to Paulme the Hogon may come only from the Ogols. These other Dyon villages are therefore ritually inferior to the Ogols and excluded from the Hogonship. Their lineage heads are thus in some respects of lower status than the lineage heads of the Ogols. This exclusion may be due to 'sister's son' status, if the apical ancestor of this group

¹ M. Griaule and G. Dieterlen: 'The Hogon always lives in the *ginna* of the major lineage to which he belongs. Thus the present Hogon, who is the head of Tabda, performs his office in the *ginna* of Pamyon

of which Tabda is a segment.' See the original distribution of the cults at the foundation as given in *Les Âmes des Dogons*, pp. 142-3.—Ed.

of villages, Iguibe on chart 1, married a woman of Upper Ogol. This point is discussed more fully in the section on Totemism. Further, as will be seen below when I consider the Dozion Orey lineage of Lower Ogol, an 'attached' lineage need not live in the same village as the 'authentic' lineage to which it is attached. Future investigation may show that all the lineages of these villages are 'attached' lineages of one or other of the four major lineages of Upper Ogol.

Some points of lineage segmentation and the hierarchy of ancestor shrines are shown in chart 3, in which from the genealogy of Gimmogo it is shown that lineage fission can at the same time be a territorial scattering. It must be clearly understood that what I have called the major lineages in Upper Ogol, in virtue of their ritual superiority over the minor lineages of Lower Ogol, are themselves segmented. The details of this segmentation cannot be worked out since we have no genealogies from Upper Ogol; but that segmentation has occurred is clear from the references made by several of our authors, when speaking of totemism in the Ogols, to the 'little *ginna*' and the 'big *ginna*' in, for example, the Sodamma quarter of Upper Ogol, while Dieterlen¹ says that one Aranou founded the 'little *ginna*' of Pamyon quarter, Upper Ogol.

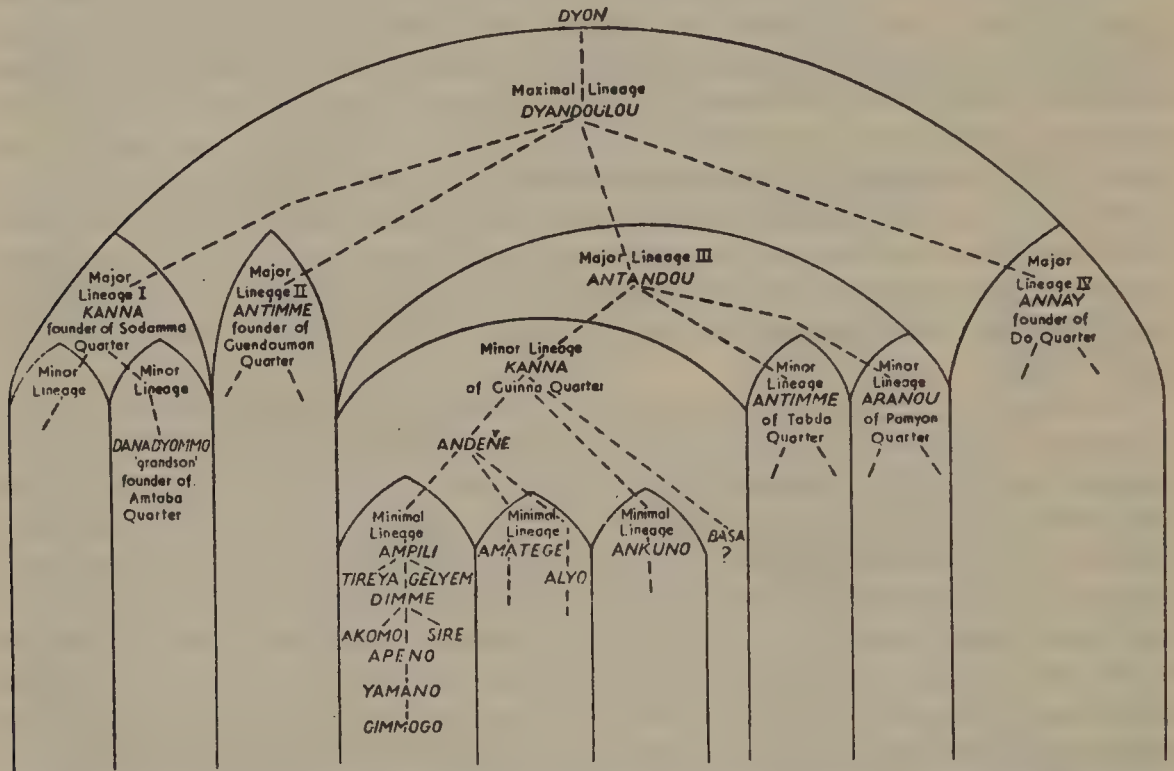
The lineages and genealogies used so far have been uncomplicated by having 'attached' lineages belonging to them. Fortes² distinguishes between 'authentic lineages' which are 'constituted by the direct line of agnatic descent from the clan founder' and 'attached lineages' which are 'identified as . . . our sister's children—descendants in the direct male line of a female member of one of the authentic lineages'. The descent ascribed to Gimmogo shows his direct descent in the male line from Dyon. Living in Lower Ogol is the Doziou Orey lineage, which is attached to the major lineage descended from Kanna, 'son' of Dyandoulou, who is the apical ancestor of the quarter of Sodamma and its offshoots. A segment of the Doziou Orey also lives in Sodamma quarter, Upper Ogol. The head of the attached lineage of Doziou Orey traces his genealogy back six generations to one Gomo, of the Arou tribe, who came from the village of Dyamini Na and married a woman of the Sodamma quarter. His descendants are 'sister's sons' to the lineages descended from Kanna. Since Gomo's lineage is attached five generations back the lineage may be classed as either a minimal or a minor lineage. It has a head, *ginna bana*, of its own. The full extent of this head's ritual inferiority to the other lineage heads in the two Ogols is not known, but since he belongs to the Arou tribe he clearly cannot become Hogon of Sanga, whose ritual office descends only to direct descendants in the male line of Dyandoulou. There are at least three lineages attached to the eight Dyon lineages of Upper and Lower Ogol, and living in Upper Ogol or Lower Ogol.

So far I have used the terms maximal, major, minor, and minimal lineage to denote the ritual hierarchy of the Dogon ancestor shrines and their correlated lineage segments. Only by laying out all the genealogies of all the lineage segments of Upper Sanga could one hope to establish the exact correspondence of shrine and lineage segment and show that the hierarchy of shrines is a consequence of the segmentation of the lineages. But in a final lineage diagram (see chart 4) enough can be seen to make it highly probable that the ritual hierarchy is, in fact, a consequence of lineage segmentation in the particular environment of Dogonland. The lineage of Antandou

¹ Dieterlen, G., op. cit., p. 143.

² Fortes, M., op. cit., p. 40.

of Pamyon quarter, Upper Ogol, segments. That is, one (at present unknown) lineage head remains in Pamyon quarter, and two men, Kanna and Antimme, leave Pamyon to build elsewhere. They become the apical ancestors of Guinna and Tabda quarters of Lower Ogol. In course of time the three lineages become apparently structurally co-ordinate. Since, however, the lineage of the unknown brother of Kanna and Antimme is, in fact, the continuation, in the same place, of the original foundation of



Note: The segmentation of the minor lineage of Kanna, of Guinna quarter, is taken from *Organisation sociale des Dogon*. One of the minimal lineages has apparently two apical ancestors, while Basa is apparently without descendants. It is possible that the apical ancestors of the minimal lineages are, in fact, Andene, Ankuño, and Basa.

CHART 4.

Antandou, it becomes ritually superior to the two new lineages. In such a process as this we must suppose that many ancestors are forgotten and that an unknown number of generations are telescoped in the assertion that 'Kanna, who founded Guinna quarter of Lower Ogol, was a son of Antandou'.

The principle of lineage segmentation seems from this final diagram to be closely similar to the principle of segmentation found among the Tallensi. The Dogon hierarchy of ancestor shrines seems to be more rigid than is the case in other comparable societies and the result of this on the lineage system is to introduce a further factor not found elsewhere. Because one ancestor shrine is ritually superior to others, and because inferiority and superiority go *pari passu* with the order of lineage segmentation, a lineage head must, if appointed to a higher shrine, leave his own lineage and occupy the house containing the shrine of the superior lineage. In this is seen the working of the segmentary system; for the shrines which are grouped as ritually superior and ritually inferior form together a lineage segment of higher order than

any one of the group taken alone. The conditions which give rise to this particular system of the Dogon are to be found in their environment. This is discussed below.

Within the seven minor lineages of the Dyon tribe to be found in Upper and Lower Ogol further segmentation takes place. All these, arguing from the analogy of the major lineage which springs from Antandou, are divided into a series of one or more segments of lower order. We are told that there is a *ginna* (large house) occupied by the head of each *togu* (minor lineage) and *tire togu* (minimal lineage). It is probable that once again on the lower order of segmentation there is ritual superiority and inferiority. The *ginna* of the minor lineage, in Gimmogo's case, will be the senior or ritually superior one of three such houses. Finally, the *tire ginna* of the minimal lineage will be ritually superior to the 'houses of the old world' occupied by the Elders of the minimal lineage. It seems probable that ritual superiority is ascribed to one house at each level of segmentation and that this house is the ancestor shrine for the lineage of that order. At the level of the maximal lineage we have the *Lébé ginna* and the Lébé shrine. In virtue of their common adherence to this shrine all the major lineages go to form one maximal lineage. At the level of the major lineage we have the houses built by the 'sons' of Dyandoulou and the four ritually superior *wagem* shrines attached to them. In virtue of their adherence to one of these a group of minor lineages forms one major lineage. At the level of the minor lineage we again have a first-built house and a *wagem* shrine. In virtue of their adherence to this shrine a group of minimal lineages forms one minor lineage. At the level of the minimal lineage we have a first-built house and an *anayimung* shrine. In virtue of their adherence to this the makers of a group of extended families go to form one minimal lineage. At the level of the extended family we have a house, owned by the lineage, and occupied by one Elder, his wives, his sons and their wives and children, and his unmarried daughters. This house contains an *ommolo shrine*.¹

At each level except the highest, ritual superiority is ascribed to one of a group of shrines and this marks the passage from one order of segmentation to a higher one.² Full genealogies of all segments would demonstrate how the orders of segmentation and the ritual hierarchy are related to the territorial distribution of the living lineage members and the spatial distribution of their ancestor shrines.

In short, the region of Upper Sanga consists of one maximal lineage of the Dyon tribe and some attached Arou lineages. The Dyon lineages are all descended from

¹ References occur in our authors to a 'House of Dyandoulou' in the Do quarter. It is shown in de Ganay's *Devises des Dogons*, on a diagram of Upper Ogol. There is a suggestion that the major lineage of the Do quarter is ritually superior to the other major lineages of Upper Ogol in spite of the belief that its founder, Annay, was the youngest of the four sons of Dyandoulou. In the *Bago Di* rites, or Harvest Festival, which take place in late September, the *ginna bana* of the major lineage of Do quarter plays the leading role and leads in the sacrifices which take place in the 'House of Dyandoulou' and on a shrine called Kan Amma. In the Sowing Festival, which occurs in late May, the focus of the rites is the Lébé shrine and the ruling Hogon takes the major role. [M. Griaule notes that the House of Dyandoulou is

that which contains the funerary pottery (*wagem* altar) of the founder of the Dyon. It was placed there by Tire, the brother of the founder, who himself had no descendants. The head of the major lineage of Do quarter makes the first sacrifices at the *Bago Di* rites, since he is custodian of the House of Dyandoulou; but this is not regarded as an indication of ritual superiority here or in general.]

² Leiris in *La Langue secrète des Dogons* quotes a number of prayers offered in *sigi* and *dama* rites. In one this passage occurs (p. 161) in his free translation:

'Que *Lebe* garde (vos) jambes !
Que les pierres ancestrales gardent (vos) jambes !
Que les petites pierres ancestrales gardent (vos) jambes !'

Dyandoulou. The maximal lineage includes four major lineages—the descendants of Kanna, Antimme, Antandou, and Annay. From this point on, we lack genealogical data and can only describe the minor order of segmentation in territorial terms. The four major segments include perhaps twelve minor segments: four in Upper Ogol, three in Lower Ogol, two in the Sanguis, two in the Ennguels, and one in Dini. These twelve minor lineages are segmented into an unknown number of minimal segments. Guinna quarter of Lower Ogol includes three of these segments (see chart 4). From now on I shall refer to lineages by their territorial names rather than in structural terms.

THE INNEOMO AND THE INNEPURU

In Dogon society there is a further form of segmentation whereby all males, and males only, are either *inneomo* (living man) or *innepuru* (dead man). This status is transmitted, not from father to son, but from a recently dead ancestor to a recently born child of the same minor lineage. Each man and woman stands in a special ritual relation to a dead ancestor or ancestress. The term *nani* is used of the dead ancestor and *nani i* of the living man or woman. The living *nani* performs sacrifices to his dead *nani* to aid him on his journey to heaven. Now if a man's *nani* were *inneomo* then one is also *inneomo*; if he were *innepuru* then one also is *innepuru*. The *innepuru* are lines of *nani* descending from the first ancestor to die in human form. Paulme¹ says that there are eight adult *innepuru* in the two Ogols and this corresponds with the eight minor lineages to be found there. (Griaule says that there are thirty-eight *innepuru* in the two Ogols, while Leiris (p. 16) suggests that there may be eight *olubaru* in the region of Upper Sanga; the *olubaru* are chosen from among the *innepuru*.) The *innepuru* are best described, perhaps, as a ritual category of men who, in virtue of their connexion with death, may come into contact with corpses, eat the flesh of animals killed in sacrifice, and build the menstruation huts. Their part in the political life of the Dogon will be described below.

THE CASTES

There are two endogamous castes: that of the Smiths and that of the Leather-workers. Members of these castes live, according to Paulme, on the fringes of the villages or wholly outside them; the map of Sanga (map 2), taken from Griaule, shows a separate Leather-workers' village. The caste members are permitted parallel-cousin marriage, which is not practised by other Dogon. The Smiths, who have important ritual powers, are poor; while the Leather-workers, who alone among the Dogon engage to any important extent in trade, are rich. According to Paulme these castes are composed of segmented lineages, as are all Dogon villages, and have *wagem* and *anayimung* shrines. No genealogies of these castes are yet available. Their structural relations with other Dogon social structures are obscure. We do not know, for example, whether or not their lineage heads form part of the Hogon's Council of Elders. Nor do we know certainly whether or not they take part in the *Awa* rituals. Griaule says that after initiation boys are eligible for participation in the rituals of the *Awa*. Therefore, since the caste boys do not undergo circumcision (nor the girls clitoridectomy) rites, according to Paulme, they would seem to be excluded from the

¹ Paulme, op. cit., p. 55, n. 2.

Awa. Yet Griaule specifically states that the caste members are admitted into the *Awa*. Little can yet be said of the relations of the castes, as segments of the Dogon social structure, to the other segments.

TOTEMISM

The relation of the totemic system to other social segments remains to be described. In general, it may be said that two forms of totemism are found. First, the *babinu*, or great totem (lit. father totem); secondly, the *binu i*, or lesser totem. The *binu i* is called a personal totem by Dieterlen and a secondary totem by Griaule. The term *binu* is used to refer to an ancestor who left a sign to his descendants in the form of a stone which is worn strung on a cord round his neck by the *binukedine*, totem priest. The term also refers to a totemic animal and a mystical relation exists between the ancestor, the animal, and the group descended from the ancestor who received the sign. Membership of a totemic group is transmitted from a father to his children and every pregnant woman before labour sacrifices to both the *wagem* ancestor shrine and the totem shrine in order that the child she is about to bear will be *wagem i* (child of the ancestors) and *binu i* (child of the totem). I call the group which is descended from an ancestor who gave the sign, and which performs rites at the shrine of the totem, a clan (*binu-turu*) following Dieterlen. The totem of a *binu-turu*, or clan, is a *babinu*, great totem. The clans are not exogamous; the exogamous unit is the minor lineage, and more than one minor lineage may be included in one clan (see charts 1 and 4).

The major lineages of the Sodamma and Guendouman quarters of Upper Ogol and the minor lineage of Amtaba quarter in Lower Ogol, an offshoot of Sodamma quarter, are all members of one totem. They form a clan, the Yébéné. According to Griaule the totem priest is chosen alternately from Sodamma quarter and from Guendouman quarter and there is a totemic shrine in each quarter. According to de Ganay there are three Yébéné shrines in Upper Ogol: (a) in the small *ginna* in Sodamma quarter, which contains a totemic symbol brought from Mande; (b) an offshoot from the first, in the principal *ginna*, the home of the major lineage head of either Sodamma or Guendouman; and (c) an individual totem brought from the village of Bara. There are other members of this clan living in Bara and in another village. This last shrine would appear to belong to a small lineage of unknown span, attached in some way to the lineages of the Sodamma quarter. According to Dieterlen there are two Yébéné shrines, of which one is in the small *ginna* of Sodamma quarter while the priest of the shrine comes from the Bara family. That is, she gives one shrine which amalgamates the first and third shrines given by de Ganay. Dieterlen gives, secondly, a shrine whose priest comes from the Sodamma or Guendouman or Amtaba quarters, but who, if he comes from Amtaba quarter, moves to Sodamma quarter, Upper Ogol, from which his lineage in Lower Ogol sprang. Dieterlen also says that a clan can be divided into segments living at different places. The term *togu* is applied both to these segments and to the group as a whole, which is commonly distinguished as *togu turu* (all one *togu*) or *togu tumoy* (a *togu* by itself). Thus, while the lineages of Guendouman quarter constitute one *togu tumoy*, those of Sodamma quarter, Upper Ogol, and Amtaba quarter, Lower Ogol, together form one *togu tumoy*. The latter *togu tumoy* is itself segmented and the Amtaba segment is ritually

inferior to the Sodamma segment since the totemic priest, should he be born into Amtaba, must move to Sodamma. We have no account of the Tire Totem, but we know that the minor lineages of the Guinna and the Tabda quarters of Lower Ogol spring from the major lineage of Pamyon quarter, Upper Ogol. They are all of one totem (*binu-turu*), and probably form a single clan. The attached lineage of Doziou Orey of the Sodamma quarter of Upper Ogol has already been referred to. This lineage, of the Arou tribe, and the Dandoulou totem, is a segment of the lineage of Doziou Orey, Lower Ogol. The Doziou quarter of Lower Ogol is composed of Arou tribe lineages of which some are also Dandoulou totem. The founding ancestor of this quarter came to Upper Sanga from Dyamini Na, Lower Sanga.¹

The lineage structure and the clan structure are thus closely related but the precise relation is not yet clear. Certainly, the extension of the original lineages descending from the 'sons' of Dyandoulou has also meant the extension of the totemic clans to which these men belonged; chart 4 shows the extension from the ancestors Kanna of Sodamma quarter and Antandou of Pamyon quarter, both of Upper Ogol, to the Amtaba, Guinna, and Tabda quarter of Lower Ogol. Yet the lineages of the villages of Upper and Lower Sangui, Upper and Lower Ennguel, and Dini, though they claim descent from Upper Ogol, without specifying any one Upper Ogol lineage, are all of one totem, the Nommo, though this totem does not occur in Upper Ogol.

Two hypotheses can be formed to explain this. Firstly, Iguibe, the apical ancestor of all these lineages, may have married a woman of Upper Ogol and his descendants may be 'sister's sons' to an Upper Ogol lineage. These are all of the Dyon tribe; this may not be important since as yet we know nothing of the totem system of Dyon tribe lineages outside the region of Upper Sanga. Since the Hagon of Upper Sanga may come only from the lineages of either of the Ogols, the lineages descended from Iguibe are ritually inferior to the Ogol lineages. This could be the result of 'sister's son' status. On this hypothesis, too, we may be able to account for the other totems found in, for example, the Sodamma and Do quarters of Upper Ogol. These are the Goummoyana, Ogoine, and Dandoulou totems. The status of the lineage belonging to the Dandoulou totem, the Doziou Orey of Lower Ogol, is specifically described by the Dogon themselves as that of 'sister's sons'. Perhaps the others are also 'sister's sons'.

Secondly, we have to allow for the *binu i*, taking them as 'secondary' totems. If a man receives a sign from an ancestor he makes totemic offerings to him. Should such a man stand at a point of lineage fission it is perhaps possible that his descendants should continue to hold to that new totem. Griaule says of the Goumoyana totem, which he describes as a 'secondary' totem, that it was once a *babinu*; but that, when the Tire totem was discovered the care of the Goumoyana totem was given over to one 'family' and became a *binu i* for the 'clan', while it was still considered to be a *babinu* by the 'family' concerned. This would seem to indicate that fission, on lines

¹ M. Griaule and G. Dieterlen write: 'It should be noted that all the *binu* can be divided, the cult objects being shared out. Beneficiaries may take away their part of the cult objects, give a new name to the *binu* and require those under its jurisdiction to observe taboos other than those associated with the

original. For the *babinu* the principle of division is clear. The total population consists of 8 quarters and several *binu* which are all derived from one by division. The relation of these divisions of *binu* to lineages is not yet known.'—Ed.

something akin to those proposed by this hypothesis, is expressed by the Dogon of these two groups. In all, Griaule lists seven *binu i* which he calls secondary totems. Only a genealogical investigation of the lineages belonging to these totems can show what is the structure and history of these groups.¹

THE EFFECT OF THE ENVIRONMENT

The Dogon villages are found scattered among the cliffs of Bandiagara wherever flat stretches of ground can be found for millet and rice fields. The terrain of Sanga consists of stretches of agricultural land interspersed with outcrops of bare rock. The Dogon villages are built upon rock and the nearby land is cultivated. It may be inferred, then, that when a lineage grows to the point at which it must segment, there is also considerable pressure on the nearby land. The segments of a lineage which split off from the original lineage, not only form new segments but also new villages.² From Upper Ogol, according to the traditions, Lower Ogol and Upper Sangui were founded. From Upper Sangui four other villages were founded. Similarly, the totemic system follows both the lineage system and the distribution and order of founding of the villages. It is the nature of the terrain in conjunction with the principles of segmentation, the ancestor cult, and the totemic cult which produces, in the segmentary system of the Dogon, those features peculiar to it. The endogamous castes are also segmented into separate villages. Since the Dogon live in villages of which the largest harbours only one thousand souls, and since the shrines of the ancestor cult and totem cult are associated with particular buildings which are constantly kept in repair, the time order of the founding of the shrines is kept in memory, and the ritual hierarchy of the shrines develops.

The system of lineage segmentation, the hierarchy of the ancestor shrines, and the time sequence of the foundation of villages are all dependent on the remembered name of the apical ancestor: that is, an ancestor who is himself placed in a time order in the Dogon genealogies.

THE UNIFICATION OF DOGON SOCIETY

So far I have discussed the vertical segmentation only of this society. I now turn to the systems whereby the lineages, castes, and so on are unified.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

The relation of the political system to the lineage system has already been touched upon at various points. The head of the region of Upper Sanga may come only from

¹ M. Griaule and G. Dieterlen write: 'The *binu i* expresses an individual relation established following a pathological condition or crisis interpreted as an intervention of the ancestor concerned. This condition requires an installation conceived as regularizing the situation. In general, a *binu i* is abandoned when the "owner" dies. On the other hand the *babinu* is always maintained and the rites may be carried out by the head of the group until another priest is revealed. We now know that underlying this totemism of *babinu* and *binu i* are seven animal and seven vegetal prohibitions of which we have the nomen-

clature and which are always the same. These fourteen prohibitions are observed without exception by all priests no matter to which *binu* they belong. Those under the jurisdiction of a *binu* observe only one or two prohibitions which may, moreover, be different from any of the fourteen. The priest concerned then observes these in addition to the latter.' —Ed.

² Forde, D., 'The Anthropological Approach in Social Science', in *The Advancement of Science*, Brit. Ass. Adv. Sci. 1947, points to an analogous ecological situation among the Hopi Pueblos of Arizona.

Dyon lineages, and is, subject to his capacity, the senior man of all Dyon lineages. He must live in Upper Ogol, in the house of his major lineage. Though they are Dyon tribe lineages, those lineages belonging to Upper and Lower Sangui, Upper and Lower Ennguel and Dini, are excluded from the Hogonship. Since they are of a totemic group not found in the authentic lineages of Upper and Lower Ogol it may be supposed that they are 'sister's sons' to the lineages of the Ogols and are therefore ineligible for the Hogonship. Further, should a Hogon-elect have been born *innepuru* he undergoes a rite of purification to make him *inneomo*. The Hogonship is a ritual and political office and in both aspects the Hogon has assistants. As priest he performs rites at the Lébé and other shrines assisted by his *Polugene*. He has also an *ogono tire anye* (Envoy of the Hogon). The Hogon himself may not leave his region, and the tasks of the Envoy are to represent his Hogon at rites performed by neighbouring Hogons. Paulme lists the following regions—Ireli, Banani, Nini, and Ibi—as those to which the Hogon of Upper Sanga sends his Envoy. This is the first ritual link between regions. The regions quoted above are those in which Dyon lineages are found either as the only recorded lineages or perhaps as the dominant lineages. Another link is the passage of the Sowing Festival from region to region; it follows the same path each year. Investigation of this path may provide useful data on the relations between regions. A third linking of regions will be found in connexion with the *Awa*.

In his political role the Hogon convenes and presides over a Council of Elders. The composition of this Council is not yet recorded. An officer of the Hogon, the *buno kunani*, (public crier) is appointed 'to each village under the Hogon's authority', according to Paulme. The villages of the Sanguis, Ennguels, and Dini are respectively single segmented lineages. The Ogols are composed of several lineages each segmented. Investigation of the way in which the *buno kunani* of Upper or Lower Ogol is chosen will throw further light on the social structure of these villages. The tasks of this officer include the announcing of deaths, thefts, losses, the decisions of the Council, forthcoming rites, and so on. The jural role of the Hogon is to hear, with his Council, the graver cases referred to him by the lineage heads of lower order than himself, possibly, for example, cases between two major lineages. Cases of homicide, incest, and incorrigible thievery come before him. The penalty for these offences is expulsion from the region, a penalty which only the Hogon can impose. The power of the Hogon as chief judge and as the final authority responsible for keeping the peace is seen in his relation to the *ogono seru* (guardians of the peace) already discussed. Should a lineage head fail to nominate a member of his lineage to the *ogono seru*, the Hogon may himself appoint a member of that lineage.

Thus the political and jural system of the Dogon is a function of the lineage system, although the place of the lineages of Upper and Lower Sangui, Upper and Lower Ennguel and Dini in the political system and the precise nature of the Hogon of Upper Sanga's control over the Arou lineages of Lower Sanga need further investigation.

At this point it is convenient to note that a Smith, a caste member, has ritual powers, similar to those of the Hogon, over disturbers of the peace. In the presence of the Hogon, or even of his staff in the hands of his Envoy, all quarrelling must cease. In the presence of the Smith and his hammer all quarrelling must cease. This is one way

in which the poor and despised caste of the Smiths is related to the political and jural system of the Dogon. Furthermore, the Hogon is ritual and political head of the region only during what one may call ordinary daily living. But during a *dama* (rite of second burial)—the word may be translated by 'dangerous'—and the *sigi* (a series of rites performed every sixty years) the ritual power of the Hogon seems to be temporarily in abeyance while the ritual power of the officers of the *Awa* is paramount. In conformity with this the Hogon's jural powers are also in abeyance and offences against the peace are dealt with by the officers of the *Awa*. When the *Awa* is the supreme jural authority the regions of Upper Sanga and Lower Sanga must be politically and jurally separated, since each region has its own *Awa*.

AGE-MATES AND AGE-SETS

We now come to the horizontal segmentation of Dogon Society. The terms used in the title of this section are borrowed from Forde¹ and are applied to two structures discussed severally by Paulme and Griaule. Paulme² gives an account of the *tumo* which she translates as *fraternités d'âge*. Every two to three years groups of boys go into a pre-initiation retreat at the end of which they are circumcised. After circumcision a boy does not sleep at home but in the *duñe* (young men's house). Of these, Paulme says that there is at least one in each quarter. I suggest that there is one for each authentic minor lineage and that there may be others for attached lineages. The group which sleeps in one *duñe* is a *tumo*. I will call it a group of age-mates. The members call each other *mu ane* (my comrade). They help a fellow member in the services a prospective bridegroom gives to his future parents-in-law. (There is no payment of bride-cattle among the Dogon.) Girls undergo clitoridectomy, according to Paulme. They appear to have nothing equivalent to the *duñe* and in fact sleep with their lovers in the men's *duñe*. But it seems probable that girls will be found to be organized into age-mates though not into age-sets.

Griaule³ speaks of the *toru* and says that in Lower Ogol there were twelve *toru* in 1935. Of these three were called out to dance in a *dama* in 1935:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|--------|----------------|
| (a) <i>Toru dyenne</i> : adult <i>toru</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | Men aged 20-25 |
| (b) <i>Toru dyenne bolone dimbe</i> : <i>toru</i> behind adult | . | . | . | . | . | . | „ „ | 18-20 |
| (c) <i>Toru dugene</i> : young <i>toru</i> | . | . | . | . | . | . | Boys „ | 12-18 |

The average age-span of these three is 4.3 years. If there were twelve *toru* they would cover a time span of at least fifty-two years and would include all males between the ages of 12 and 64. We may call the *toru* an age-set. The structure of the age-set has not been studied. Griaule, in estimating the numbers of dancers called out for the *dama* referred to above, gives the number of dancers who came from several of the villages. I suggest that while the *tumo* includes members of a minor lineage, the *toru* includes all the *tumo* of a maximal lineage. Griaule says that all members of a *toru* are circumcised at the same time. We may take it that some organization exists whereby the lads of each minor lineage are circumcised in *tumo* groups at about the same time and that circumcision is carried out every few years. We know little so far of the

¹ Forde, C. D., *Marriage and the Family among the Yako*, L.S.E. Monographs No. 5, 1941.

² Op. cit., p. 236; I have not been able to obtain or read 'Les Rites de Circoncision chez les Dogons

de Sanga', M. Leiris and A. Schaeffner (*Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, vi, 2, Paris, 1936).

³ Griaule, *Masques dogons*, p. 248.

age-set and age-mate systems. The only suggestion concerning leadership within a group of age-mates comes from Paulme, who says that the oldest boy of a *tumo* exercises some leadership. As to leadership in the age-set system, the only suggestion we have comes from Griaule who speaks of age-sets being called out to dance by the officers of the *Awa*. The relation of the *Awa* to the age-sets must be investigated.¹

We may form the hypothesis that the age-mates and age-sets link together members of the component lineages of a maximal lineage. They counteract the centrifugal effect of lineage segmentation by linking, first, individuals in small groups and then small groups into larger groups. The age-sets themselves segment society horizontally and as new sets are formed and earlier sets grow older they stratify society. These strata are related to one another in a system concerning which much remains to be discovered. This system cuts across lineage divisions and gives identity of age-set status where there is lineage disparity. The centripetal effect of these age-sets is best seen in the *Awa*. Before turning to this I must first discuss the *innepuru*.

THE INNEPURU

The *Innepuru*, one of the two ritual divisions already briefly described, may, in virtue of their association with death, eat meats used in sacrifice and may come into contact with corpses. Their actual role in the funeral rites need not be described. The important point is that Dieterlen² says that certain groups call reciprocally on each other's *innepuru*, and gives the following groupings:³

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---|---|------------------------------|
| (a) Amtaba quarter, Lower Ogol | . | . | . | Yébéne totem. |
| Guinna quarter, Lower Ogol | . | . | . | Tire totem. |
| Pamyon quarter, Upper Ogol | . | . | . | Tire totem. |
| (b) Doziou quarter, Lower Ogol | . | . | . | Ogoine and Dandoulou totems. |
| Tabda quarter, Lower Ogol | . | . | . | Tire totem. |
| (c) Sodamma quarter, Upper Ogol | . | . | . | Yébéne totem. |
| Guendouman quarter, Upper Ogol | . | . | . | Yébéne totem. |
| Do quarter, Upper Ogol | . | . | . | Tire totem. |

I have added the totems to the quarters given in the list and it will be seen that a possible grouping emerges. In group (a) Guinna quarter is an offshoot of Pamyon quarter. Amtaba quarter is, however, separated from Sodamma quarter (group c) of which it is an offshoot. In group (c) all three quarters are structurally co-ordinate. In group (b) Doziou quarter and Tabda quarter are structurally co-ordinate and of different tribes.

At present, then, it may be suggested that the lineages call upon the *innepuru* of lineages of a totem other than their own to carry out important ritual offices. Thus there is created a network of relations between lineages.⁴

¹ M. Griaule and G. Dieterlen note that: 'In principle every circumcised man belongs in the *Awa*, that is, he may make a mask and wear it in the *dama*. Every *toru* thus automatically participates in the *Awa*. At the same time there is a fixed number of *tumo* which is being studied by Mme de Ganay.'—Ed.

² Dieterlen, G., op. cit., p. 108 n.

³ Dieterlen also says (p. 117, n. 1) that the *innepuru* who carry out the *innepuru* role in funerals of Lower Ogol come from Upper Ogol and vice versa. This

cannot be true if her groupings (b) and (c) are correct.

⁴ Prof. Griaule writes: 'The funerary role of the *innepuru* who carves the *abye dobu* does not necessarily coincide with the role of those who officiate in the *dama* (see *Ames des Dogons*, pp. 108 and 117). So far as is known at present the functions of the *innepuru*, and the role of the divisions of quarters participating in this system, are quite independent of the *babinu* to which the participants belong.'—Ed.

THE AWA

It is in the *Awa* that the *innepuru* ('dead men') achieve their maximum importance. All initiated Dogon males take part in *Awa* rites. It is *innepuru* men, however, who become officers of the society. All initiated men may take part in dances performed during a *dama* and must be present during the performance of a *sigi*. It is especially to be noted that women who have married outside Upper Sanga must return to the region during a *sigi*. The role of women in a *sigi* requires further investigation, since women are excluded from the *Awa*.

The *Awa* officers are the *olubaru*, chosen from among the *innepuru* by the older men who have performed one *sigi*; the *mulono* or men who have been present at two *sigis*; the *kabaga*, assistants to the *olubaru*; and *yasigine*, a priestess,

The *olubaru* undergo a special retreat to learn the myths of the masks, the secret language (*sigi so*), and the taboos of the masks.

The *olubaru* of Upper Sanga come from the villages as follows:

Upper Ogol 2; Lower Ogol 1 (on alternate occasions the proportions are reversed); Ennguels 1; Sanguis 1; Barna and Barkou 1; Dini 1.

In the latest *sigi* the *olubaru* of the Ogol villages were from Do quarter, Upper Ogol; Guinna quarter, Lower Ogol; and Doziou Orey quarter, Lower Ogol. In the penultimate *sigi* the *olubaru* of the Ogol villages were from Guendouman and Sodamma quarters of Upper Ogol and Tabda quarter of Lower Ogol. According to Griaule the quarter from which an *olubaru* was chosen for one *sigi* is not eligible for the succeeding *sigi*. It would appear from the selection of the *olubaru* that the lineages of the Ogol villages are structurally co-ordinate and that the ritual inferiority of the Lower Ogol villages found in the ancestor cult does not operate in the relation of the lineages to the *Awa*. Similarly, the villages of Upper and Lower Sangui are treated as a unit and as structurally co-ordinate with Upper and Lower Ennguel which are also treated as one unit. Griaule¹ says that it is the 'family' that is concerned in selecting the *olubaru*—'the head of each group selects an *innepuru*'. By 'grande famille agnatique indivise' Paulme designates the unit here called a minor lineage. Now if the ritual hierarchy of the ancestor shrines be ignored, then in degree of segmentation the villages of the Sanguis, Ennguels, Dini, and the separate quarters of the Ogol villages may all appear to be structurally co-ordinate. The first question that arises, however, is why the four quarters of one of the Ogol villages are treated as co-ordinate with two villages, Upper and Lower Sangui combined, in their relation to the *Awa*. For if, as Griaule says, it is the 'family' that is the unit from which an *olubaru* is chosen, and if we take this to mean 'grande famille indivise', why should Upper Ogol have in alternate *sigis* two and one *olubaru*, since at least four 'families' live there—the 'families' descended from the four 'sons' of Dyandoulou?

There is a further complication. Griaule says that in the *Awa* of Upper Sanga one Great Mask is made for the Dyon tribe members and another for the Arou tribe members. Thus an *Awa* is not limited to members of one tribe alone and appears to relate to a territorial unit. Yet the *olubaru*, if they are chosen by family, are not chosen on a territorial system since the territorial unit 'village' and the structural unit 'family' do not coincide.

¹ Op. cit., p. 183.

Again, in the recent *sigi*, one of the *olubaru* of Lower Ogol came from an Arou tribe quarter of the village. This would suggest that tribal differences are ignored in the selection of the *olubaru* who perhaps represent a village as a territorial unit. Yet the tribes are in fact differentiated in that each has a Great Mask, though they can be members of one *Awa*.

In short, the structure of the *Awa* is not yet clear; nor is the relation of the structure of the *Awa* to the lineage system. What can be said is this: the *Awa* is a mode of linking the lineages of a territorial unit in one structure which retains tribal segmentation.

We can go further. The *sigi* is performed every sixty years. It begins in the north-east of the cliffs and its performance follows a regular path to the south-west. Six groups of regions and villages perform the *sigi* in succession. In all, it takes six years to pass along the cliffs and each group of regions devotes a year to the *sigi* rites (see map 1). Thus Ibi, Nini, Banani, Pegue, Upper Sanga, and Lower Sanga form one such group which is the second group to perform the *sigi*. The sequence within the group follows the order in which the regions are given here. The *sigi* must in the past have been a powerful link between the Dogon regions, and the links forged between the regions which perform the *sigi* together and between those regions and that of Yougu Dogorou, the starting-point of the cycle, may be of some importance.

The role of the *Awa* in *dama* rites was referred to above in the discussion of age-sets. The masked dancers of the *Awa* are called out by age-sets to dance at a funeral. But we do not know whether or not Arou tribe men are called out to dance at the rites of a Dyon tribe member and vice versa. It should also be noted that the number of *toru*, and therefore the number of masked dancers, who take part in a *dama* varies with the importance of the dead man. At the *dama* of the Hogon of Upper Sanga, however, though dancers come from Upper Sanga, Lower Sanga, Banani, Nini, Ireli, and Ibi (in order of distance, according to Paulme), no masks are worn, and women also dance. A comparison between fully analysed *dama* rites of a Hogon and of an *olubaru* would have great structural significance.

THE MANGU AND GALA RELATIONSHIPS

The term *mangu* refers to a joking relationship between peoples, regions, and lineages; the term *gala* refers to a joking relationship between affinal kin in certain categories. The former is the more important to the subject of this paper, since, owing to the death of Deborah Lifschitz who studied the subject, little material is yet available on Dogon kinship.

The *mangu* relationship is a relation of privileged familiarity carrying with it a ban on marriage between members of the joking groups and an obligation of mutual assistance. It occurs between the Dogon and Bozo peoples; between regions in Dogonland; and between lineages of Dogon regions.

The joking relationship between the Dogon and the Bozo has been discussed by Griaule,¹ who relates it to the Dogon cosmology. We are here concerned with its structural implications. The Bozo live along the banks of the Bani river between Dienne and Mopti and scatter to the west of the Bani as far as the Niger. Only at the south-western end of the cliffs do the Dogon and Bozo appear to be in contiguous

¹ Griaule, M., 'L'Alliance cathartique', *Africa*, xviii. 4, Oct. 1948, pp. 242-58.

territories and even there they are probably separated by the Koummou tribe. Griaule denies that there is very extensive trade between the two peoples, though our authors' references to the 'pêcheurs Bozo' might suggest that they supply the Dogon with fish.

It may be noteworthy that the Smith plays an important part in the myth by which the Dogon explain this relation between themselves and the Bozo and that the oath by which they bound themselves was taken on the hammer and anvil—the symbols of cultivation. This was after the descent of the Bozo and Dogon to earth, and when the oath was taken the Bozo went off to the river bearing their fish. This suggests a division between growers and fishers.

Radcliffe-Brown,¹ while paying tribute to the value of Griaule's analysis, argues cogently that our understanding of such social relations can best be furthered by the use of the comparative method; but at the present stage of our knowledge of the structure of the relations, other than joking relations, between the Dogon and the Bozo this method cannot be applied.

More can be said, however, about the joking relationships between Dogon regions since we can compare them with similar relations among the Tallensi. Paulme discusses the few examples of this relation yet known.² There is a joking relationship between:

- (a) The region of Sanga (Dyon and Arou tribes) and the region of Bamba (Dyon, Arou and Ono tribes).
- (b) The region of Sanga (Dyon and Arou tribes) with the region of Ka (tribes unknown).
- (c) The region of Guimini (Dyon tribe) with the region of Amani (Dyon tribe).

Griaule, it will be remembered, distinguishes Upper from Lower Sanga. If in example (a) above we regard one term of the relationship as being either Upper or Lower Sanga, we are dealing with a maximal lineage. The other term of the relation is given simply as the region of Bamba, which contains members of Dyon, Arou, and Ono tribes. We do not know the structure of this region, in which the dominant lineage may belong to any one of the three tribes with other lineages attached, or the region may be divided somewhat after the manner of Sanga into two or more sections, each containing a dominant lineage of one tribe. In example (b) the tribal population of Ka is unknown. In example (c) it would appear that the *mangu* relation occurs between maximal lineages of the same tribe.

Clearly little can be inferred from this. However, among the Tallensi contiguous maximal lineages may be linked in clanship, but if lineages are territorially separated from one another by another maximal lineage, then the link between them may be a joking relationship. With this in mind we may consider the spatial distribution of, and links between, Upper Sanga and certain other regions and villages.

Firstly, there is a ritual link of some sort between Upper Sanga and Ireli, Banani, Nini, and Ibi in that the Hogon's Envoy of each of those regions or villages attends, and their *dama* dancers may dance at, the funeral of the Hogon of any of the other

¹ Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., 'A further note on Joking Relationships', *Africa*, xix, 2, Apr. 1949, pp. 133-40.

² Paulme, D., 'Parenté à plaisanteries', *Africa*, xii, 4, Oct. 1939, pp. 433-44; Paulme, D., *Organisation sociale*, pp. 275 ff.

regions. There may be some further ritual ties between these regions, for all are occupied by Dyon lineages though three of them, Nini, Ibi, and Upper Sanga, also include Arou lineages.¹

Secondly, the *sigi* passes along a regular path and groups of regions perform it together. The *sigi* group of the region containing Upper Sanga excludes Ireli of the group above and includes another nearby village, Pegue, which is of the Arou tribe. This group of regions is the second to perform the *sigi*; the first group lies to the north-east (see map 1). Still farther to the north-east lies a group of villages which is one of the three groups which do the *sigi* in the third year. Very near to this group lies Bamba, which has a joking relationship with Sanga, and in it lies Damasongo, which has a joking relationship with Banani. It is possible then that it will be found eventually that groups of maximal lineages of one tribe are linked by some ritual ties analogous to those reported by Fortes among the Tallensi; and further, that when the network of *mangu* relationships has been fully plotted they will be seen to unite lineages not already linked closely by ritual ties. The investigation must, however, look also to the internal structure of the regions concerned; that is, these relationships must be plotted as ties between social units and not between territories.

We now come to the *mangu* relationships within the regions of Upper and Lower Sanga. At this structural level the role of *mangu* partners differs from that on the tribal level. In inter-lineage joking obscene jokes are exchanged between partners; one may not quarrel in the presence of one's *mangu* partner; hospitality is given to a *mangu* partner; and finally, at funeral rites the *mangu* partners have a role. They rush into the house where the funeral is taking place and, with loud cries and exclamations at the poverty of the house, insult the mourners and upset jars of beer.

In the regions of Upper and Lower Sanga the following groups of joking partners are found:

1. According to Paulme: Upper and Lower Ogol, Barna and Barkou are partners with Ennguel, Dini, and Sangui.
2. According to Dieterlen: (a) Sangui are partners with Lower Ogol, (b) Dini with Barkou, (c) Dyamini with Gogoli, (d) Bongo with Ireli.

Clearly these two versions cannot be entirely reconciled. Meanwhile, Griaule makes two points which may be considered here. First, that the *mangu* tie is part of a Dogon theory of 'gemellité' or pairing. If Paulme's group of *mangu* partners is correct the joking relation in Upper Sanga is not one of pairs. The terms of her relation include, on the one hand, four villages or ten minor lineages of which seven are Dyon tribe and three are Arou tribe, and on the other hand, five villages or five minor lineages. Secondly, Griaule connects the *mangu* partnership with totemism. Then, in Paulme's first term of the relationship we find included three totems (*babinu*), the Yébéné, Tire and Dandoulou; and in the second term there is one totem only—the Nommo.

Applying these considerations to Dieterlen's groupings, it is to be noted first, on the point that the relation unites pairs, that:

- (a) Sangui includes two villages and an uncertain number of lineages all of Dyon

¹ We have already seen, however, that the Arou lineages of Upper Sanga are attached, not authentic, lineages and this may also be the case in the other two

regions. It is possible, therefore, that there are other structural relations not yet discovered among these five regions.

tribe. Lower Ogol village includes four minor lineages three of Dyon and one of Arou tribe; and

(b) Dini and Barkou probably contain one minor lineage each. Dini is Dyon tribe, Barkou is Arou tribe.

(c) Bongo includes two villages and an unknown number of lineages of Arou tribe. The structure of Ireli has not been studied at all but it is Dyon tribe. Especially important is the fact that Ireli lies outside the regions of Upper and Lower Sanga. This would suggest that the *mangu* relation is yet another link between lineage segments which provides a network of ties between regions.

Thus Dieterlen's grouping of *mangu* partners, while nearer to pairing than that of Paulme, still leaves undemonstrated the assertion of Griaule that '... dès l'origine du monde, la règle était de gemelléité'.

Secondly, the totemic situation with respect to the *mangu* relationship, as exemplified in Dieterlen's groupings, is as follows:

(a) The Sangu lineages are of Nommo totem; the Lower Ogol lineages are of Yébéné, Tire, and Dandoulou totems.

(b) The Dini lineages belong to the Nommo totem; the Barkou lineage belongs to the Mangara totem (I am not certain of this; nor am I certain of the status of the Mangara totem, i.e. whether it is *babinu* or *binu i*).

(c) The Dyamini lineages belong to the Dandoulou totem (as we infer from the fact that the Doziou Orey of Lower Ogol are Dandoulou and traditionally came from Dyamini Na); the Gogoli lineages are Asamma totem.

(d) The Bongo lineages are Asamma totem; the totems of Ireli are not recorded.

Once again no general rule can be drawn from the examples given. Examples (b) and (c) suggest that the *mangu* relation may, in fact, form a network of ties between totemic groups. But if example (a) be accurate then a totemic group may have a *mangu* relation with more than one other totemic group and the rule of 'gemelléité' breaks down.¹

From this brief consideration of the *mangu* relation on the three structural levels of inter-tribal ties, inter-region or maximal lineage ties, and inter-lineage segment ties no conclusions can be drawn, but the subject is one for further investigation.

CONCLUSION

Dogon society is a segmentary one. It is segmented into tribes and it is possible that tribal districts may yet be identified. The tribes are segmented into maximal, major, minor, and minimal lineages. While the structural principles on which the lineage system of the Dogon rests remains constant, the actual living groups of agnatic kin which form a lineage are unstable, and are continually dividing and merging. The abstractions which we call maximal, major, and minor lineages are fixed; it is at the level of the minimal lineage that processes of fission and accretion occur. Ancestors on the three higher levels serve only as points of departure for the unstable minimal lineages. The political system of the region of Upper Sanga is a

¹ M. Griaule and G. Dieterlen write: *Mangu* is a twin relationship. It concerns the condition of an individual in relation to his 'twin'. He has the double or counterpart of the material and spiritual

forces at the disposal of the latter. So far there is no evidence for relation between *mangu* and *babinu* divisions.'—*Ed.*

function of the lineage system, since office in the political system depends upon status in the lineage. The exclusion of certain lineages from supreme political office results from the principle of direct agnatic descent and the changeless form and content of the maximal and major lineages.

Though change is constantly going on the maximal lineage may be regarded as a corporate, localized community. The ties of lineage structure appear, among the Dogon, to be expressed in a territorial idiom. But the lineage itself is an expression, in the last resort, of agnatic kinship. Whereas the rules of widow inheritance emphasize the exclusiveness of an agnatic group, the rules of exogamy break down this exclusiveness and create wide ranges of affinal and matrilineal kinship ties between lineages. Such ties help to link together in structural relations the lineages of agnatic kin.

Lineages are not linked only by kinship ties. Dogon society is segmented into two ritual classes, the *inneomo* and *innepuru*. The reciprocal use by lineages of each other's *innepuru* provides further structural relations between lineages. The reciprocal use of the *mangu* relationship between lineages creates yet another network of structural relations of the same order as the *innepuru* link.

Of a different order is the segmentation of the Dogon into totemic clans. These are composed of groups of major and minor lineages. Of the relation of the totemic clans to the political system one can at present say nothing.

The final form of vertical segmentation among the Dogon is the caste system. A comparative study of kinship among the caste members and among other Dogon would be of great value. Whether this can be done or not, the relation of the castes to the political system poses problems which may not be neglected.

The horizontal segmentation of Dogon society is seen in the age-set system and the *Awa*. The Dogon villages still show signs of their former defensive walls. It would be useful to know something of their former military organization and of the relation of the age-sets to it. Since the age-set system stratifies society the *Awa* is also perhaps stratified. We need an analysis of the structure of the *Awa*. It is clear, however, that the *Awa* as a territorially organized institution helps to bind the maximal lineage to its territory. I have suggested that the maximal lineage is a corporate, localized community. The *Awa* helped to make it so. Since all men living in a certain territory may be members of a given *Awa* then all men must be related to the political system of the territory. This can only be done in terms of lineage structure and kinship. But, where the lineage divides, the *Awa* unites. Diversity of lineage status is counterbalanced by identity of *Awa* and age-set status. In political life *innepuru* status excludes a man from office; in the life of the *Awa* it leads him to high office. In political life again, junior status in the lineage excludes a man from the more important roles; but in the ritual life of the *Awa* junior status confers on a man the exciting and dramatic role of a *dama* dancer.

Résumé

L'ANALYSE DE LA STRUCTURE SOCIALE DU DOGON

L'AUTEUR fait l'analyse des matériaux abondants, qui ont été publiés par les membres des Missions Griaule, au sujet des Dogon de Bandiagara et de Hombori, dans le Soudan français, afin de déterminer les principes fondamentaux de la structure sociale de ces tribus. La plus grande unité politique parmi le Dogon est une région tribale dans laquelle une tribu domine numériquement et aussi en ce qui concerne les rites. Une tribu comprend plusieurs lignées majeures dont chacune est divisée en une série de groupes, apparentés par la ligne paternelle, qui vont en décroissant et qui correspondent respectivement aux agglomérations de villages, villages et quartiers. L'autorité rituelle de chef (*Hogon*) s'étend sur une région ou agglomération de villages et elle est assignée à une lignée doyenne de la tribu dominante. L'auteur étudie le processus et les effets de la segmentation des lignées et démontre la signification du culte des ancêtres et des cultes totémiques, comme expressions de l'organisation linéale. Il suggère qu'une recherche plus étendue pourrait démontrer le rôle important du système de groupement par âge dans le rattachement de sections de la population mâle d'un village ou d'une région qui a tendance à se diviser d'après les lignées. De la même façon, dans les cérémonies de l'*Awa*, les hommes sont répartis, pour les grandes fêtes, en deux groupes réciproques, et des rangs élevés dans le système de lignée et dans l'*Awa* s'excluent mutuellement.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR AN AMENDED SPELLING AND WORD DIVISION OF NYANJA

GUY ATKINS

INTRODUCTION

MOST of the problems of Nyanja orthography are simple and capable of a straightforward solution. What is needed is a revision and clarification of the existing rules¹ and usages rather than any basic reform. The need for such revision has long been felt in Nyasaland as well as in Northern Rhodesia.²

The spelling and word division advocated in this paper are already in use at the School of Oriental and African Studies, for teaching as well as in the Nyanja texts written by African members of the staff. There were two main reasons for departing from the current orthography: it fails to cover the detailed needs of the individual dialects,³ and on several general points it is not sufficiently clear and consistent. The only remedy was to plan a separate spelling to suit the needs of each dialect, and then to combine these into a unified orthography that would suit the Nyanja group as a whole. It would have been useless to begin at the opposite end by regarding the printed texts of to-day as 'standard', for it is just in these texts that the various minor uncertainties of spelling abound, as must inevitably happen when two or more dialects are brought together experimentally without a detailed preliminary study of their differences. In an experiment of that kind the choice of orthography is only one of a number of difficulties. The problem, for example, of finding a common basis of grammar (especially within the three tense systems) is still unsolved, although in Nyanja the differences are not so great as to preclude a fairly high degree of mutual intelligibility. There also remains the problem of developing a common vocabulary. But these are both matters which fall outside the scope of the present study.

During a recent visit to Central Africa I was fortunate in being able to discuss the new spelling proposals with Mr. Samuel Ntara, an African teacher from Nyasaland who has written a number of well-known novels in the Cewa dialect, and with Mr. J. Bruwer who is the foremost Cewa expert of Northern Rhodesia. The preparatory work on Maŋanja was done in London with the help of Mr. B. E. Malekebu, who was an assistant at the School from 1946 to 1949. While this article was in manu-

¹ The only official rules are entitled *Chinyanja Orthography Rules 1931*, Circular No. 30 of 1932, issued by the Secretariat in Zomba. This document is a single foolscap sheet containing twelve brief clauses. The title of this circular is abbreviated hereafter to *Orthogr. 1931*.

The Northern Rhodesia Rules of 1936 are a copy of the Nyasaland document, except that the adoption of the velar nasal sign is recommended in Clause 2. This ruling, however, has never been given effect.

² An inter-territorial language conference to discuss Nyanja spelling reform was held at Lilongwe in 1947, but its findings have not been published. I am indebted to Miss K. Smith (of the Secretariat,

Zomba), who took a leading part in the discussions, for allowing me to see a copy of the correspondence and minutes.

³ The Nyanja group consists of three main dialects: *Maŋanja*, spoken in the Southern Province of Nyasaland; *Cewa* in the Central Province of Nyasaland and the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia; and 'Lake' Nyanja on Likoma Island and along the *P.E.A.* lakeshore.

An analysis of the distribution of these dialects is contained in my article 'The Nyanja-speaking Population of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, A Statistical Survey', *African Studies*, vol. ix, no. 1, March 1950.

script I received numerous valuable hints and corrections from my colleagues Dr. A. N. Tucker and Dr. M. Guthrie.

I. ALPHABET

1. The sounds which are heard in Nyanja can be represented by means of the five vowels (**i, e, a, o, u**) and eighteen of the twenty-one consonants and semi-vowels (**y** and **w**) of the Roman alphabet. **q, r, and x** have no function in Nyanja.

The only additional symbol that is needed is *y*, the 'in' or velar nasal sign, to represent the sound heard in the English words *sing*, *finger*, and *ink* (phonetic: *siŋ*, 'fiŋgə, iŋk).

2. To avoid the confusion which would result from quoting examples in a mixed orthography, all the Nyanja examples have been written in the amended spelling,¹ not in the current manner. Thus **lelo** in the first example is written with a medial **l** despite the fact that the rule which explains this spelling is not quoted until paragraph 20.

II. LONG VOWELS

3. There are two occasions when **aa** (long vowel) should be written instead of **a** (short vowel). The present convention of always disregarding vowel length in the spelling has given rise to a confusion between (i) two tenses in which vowel length can be an important distinguishing factor, and (ii) two nominal forms whose difference is disguised by the present spelling.

The writing of **aa** is justified on phonological grounds, since **a+a** in Nyanja results in a long vowel, and it has the practical advantage of removing ambiguity from sentences such as the pairs marked (a) and (c), (b) and (d) in the following examples.

Examples

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (a) <i>Alendo aafika lelo.</i> | The visitors have arrived to-day. |
| (b) <i>Mafuta aapezeka kuno.</i> | Oil has been found here. |

Sentences (a) and (b) have illustrated the 'perfect' tense having the long vowel, as against the 'present' tense (c) and (d) having the short vowel:

Examples

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (c) <i>Alendo afika lelo.</i> | The visitors (will) arrive to-day. |
| (d) <i>Mafuta apezeka kuno.</i> | Oil is (going) to be found here. |

The distinction of vowel length applies not only when the verbal prefix is of Classes 2 or 6, as here, but also when it is of Classes 12 (**ka**) or 15 (**pa**).²

¹ The general principles for writing an African language are laid down, accompanied by a specimen text in Nyanja, in *Memorandum I* of the International African Institute.

For an introduction to the principles of Bantu word division the reader is referred to Malcolm Guthrie's *Bantu Word Division*, International African Institute, *Memorandum XXII*, 1948; and to an earlier study

by Clement M. Doke, *The Problem of Word-Division in Bantu*, Salisbury, S.R., 1929.

² For a convenient numbering of the classes in Nyanja, and for an explanation of the general terminology used in this paper, see my article on 'The Parts of Speech in Nyanja', special issue of *The Nyasaland Journal*, vol. iii, no. 1, 1950.

4. In order to ensure that the distinction between these two tenses is always maintained, it is necessary to standardize **-wa-** (rather than the synonymous **-a-**) as the medially attached object of Classes 2 and 6. Unless this is done—and the Rules of 1931 actually demand it—the confusion will remain in cases such as those marked (f) and (g) below.

Examples

(e) <i>Ana aseka.</i>	The children laugh.
(f) <i>Ana awaseka</i> (not 'aaseka').	The children laugh at them.
(g) <i>Ana aaseka.</i>	The children have laughed.
(h) <i>Ana aawaseka.</i>	The children have laughed at them.

5. A long vowel sometimes occurs in the prefixes of the seven nominal stems **-kulu**, **-pono**, **-tali**, **-fupi**, **-wisi**, **-muna**, **-kazi**. These stems usually, but not always, require a double dependent prefix. For Classes 2 and 6 the double prefix should be written **aa**.

Examples

<i>Mafumu aakulu ali-kudandaula.</i>	The great chiefs are complaining.
<i>Talemba anchito aakazi.</i>	We have engaged women workers.

When these stems take a single prefix of Classes 2 or 6 this prefix will be written **a**, as in the following sentence:

Example

<i>Akulu onse, amuna ndiakazi, anabwela kubwalo.</i>	All the adults, men as well as women, came to the court.
--	--

6. Nyanja has no regular distinction between long and short vowels in the radical, but similar vowels sometimes meet accidentally.

Examples

<i>nbaala</i> (also <i>nbawala</i>)	antelope	<i>cuuno</i> (also <i>ciuno</i>)	waist
but <i>nbala</i>	thief	<i>-pfuul-</i>	shout

7. Long vowels should be written wherever they occur in exclamatory particles, since for words of this kind distinctions of vowel length are important.

Examples

<i>pheel</i>	still, quiet	<i>thoo!</i>	reverberating sound
<i>phe!</i>	finished	<i>tho!</i>	full

III. SEMI-VOWELS

8. A great deal of discussion¹ has centred round the question of when to write and when not to write **y** and **w** (representing the vowels **i** and **u**). The present arrangement is far from satisfactory and leaves much room for doubt.

¹ See T. Price, 'The written representation of inter-vocalic glides in Nyanja', *African Studies*, vol. iii, no. 2, June 1944.

Nearly half of *Orthogr.* 1931 is taken up with this subject.

The difficulty is caused by the fact that in some vowel surroundings the two sounds are active, that is audible, whereas in others they are not. The truth of this can be tested by means of the six grammatical elements

-yi -yo -yu -wa -wo -wu

which can be attached in turn to any of the five suffixes

i e a o u.

In doing this we find, for instance, that there is noticeable lip-tension and velarization for the **w** of 'alondawa' (these watchmen), but none when saying 'alendowa' (these strangers), although from the point of view of word structure the same element **-wa** is involved in both cases.

9. The following tables show the vowel surroundings in which **y** and **w** can be heard and those in which they are not heard. On some occasions, as when saying **ue**, the organs of speech are near to formulating **w** in passing from **u** to **e**. The test, however, is whether a slight extra effort (lip-tension) and time are expended in shaping a **w** sound or not. In Nyanja no such effort occurs, whereas in English it is just this effort which distinguishes *you wait* from *you ate*.

y and w are heard:

y group			w group		
(1) aye	(5) oye	(9) uye	(13) iwi	(17) ewi	(20) awi
(2) aya	(6) oya	(10) uya	(14) iwe	(18) ewe	(21) awe
(3) ayo	(7) oyo	(11) uyo	(15) iwa	(19) ewa	(22) awa
(4) ayu	(8) oyū	(12) uyū	(16) iwo*		

y and w are not heard:

y group			w group		
(23) i(y)i	(28) e(y)i	(33) a(y)i	(36) i(w)u	(41) o(w)i	(46) u(w)i
(24) i(y)e	(29) e(y)e	(34) o(y)i	(37) e(w)o*	(42) o(w)e	(47) u(w)e
(25) i(y)a	(30) e(y)a	(35) u(y)i	(38) e(w)u*	(43) o(w)a	(48) u(w)a
(26) i(y)o	(31) e(y)o		(39) a(w)o	(44) o(w)o	(49) u(w)o
(27) i(y)u	(32) e(y)u		(40) a(w)u	(45) o(w)u	(50) u(w)u

* When testing the presence or absence of **y** and **w** one must distinguish between self-conscious speech, which often produces artificial school- or spelling-pronunciations, and the natural delivery of a sentence in context. The **w** sound in **iwo**, when it occurs at all, is very slight; it is produced by velar tension rather than by lip-tension. In a practical orthography there are special reasons for writing a **w** in **iwo** (see para. 11). But in the case of two common words **ndiwo/ndio** (relish) and **kaliwo/kalio** (pipe), which have alternative pronunciations even within the same dialect, the spelling should remain optional.

The sequences **e(w)o** and **e(w)u** do not occur in nominals, and the test by means of grammatical elements is somewhat inconclusive.

10. In most types of nominal and in all verbals and particles there is no means of knowing whether **y** and **w** are structurally present or not in vowel surroundings such as those numbered (23) to (50) in the tables. The only fair principle is not to write **y** and **w** in such cases. The current orthography is inconsistent in this respect, but the following list shows how typical words of each group should be spelt.

SUGGESTIONS FOR AN AMENDED SPELLING

Examples

absence of y		absence of w	
<i>kusiila</i>	to leave on behalf of	<i>man</i>	word(s)
<i>kufiila</i>	to become bright (red)	<i>aloe</i>	let him enter
<i>mwanapie</i>	chick	<i>kuloa</i>	to enter
<i>tisie</i>	let us leave	<i>kusoa</i>	to lack
<i>tie(ni)</i>	come on	<i>moa</i>	beer
<i>kusia</i>	to leave	<i>akue</i>	let him shout
<i>hia</i> ¹	exclamation of surprise	<i>nkhalue</i>	quarrelling
<i>nbia</i>	beer pot	<i>ngulue</i>	wild pig
<i>liu</i>	word	<i>kukua</i>	to shout
<i>tisabei</i>	no, let us not steal	<i>dua</i>	flower
<i>kwee(ni)</i>	go	<i>dzua</i>	sun
<i>musagee</i>	do not belch	<i>njelua</i>	brick
<i>kugea</i>	to belch	<i>nguo</i>	dressed hide
<i>mpwea</i>	air		
<i>ea</i>	exclamation of agreement		
<i>eyaa</i>			
<i>nbeu</i>	seed(s)		
<i>sanabai</i>	no, he did not steal		
<i>iai/ai</i>	no		
<i>mwai</i>	luck		
<i>amai</i>	mother		
<i>nphwai</i>	slovenliness		

Optional Spellings

<i>ndiwo/ndio</i>	relish
<i>kaliwo/kalio</i>	pipe

11. Stemless nominals (e.g. *iyi*) and grammatical elements, such as *-yi*, should continue to be written in full on all occasions. The stemless nominals belong to a series whose symmetry would be destroyed if we omitted to write the semi-vowels, while in the case of the elements no useful purpose would be served by altering the spelling of one and the same element each time it happens to be attached to a different suffix.

Examples

<i>iyi</i>	<i>mipeniyi</i>	<i>asodziwo</i>
	<i>mipeniyo</i>	<i>mpeniwu</i>
<i>iy</i>	<i>msodziyu</i>	<i>abalewo</i>
<i>iy</i>	<i>nchencheyi</i>	<i>mtendelewu</i>
	<i>nchencheyo</i>	<i>mtangawo</i>
<i>iwo</i>	<i>mbaleyu</i>	<i>mtangawu</i>
	<i>mitangayi</i>	<i>alendowa</i>
<i>awo</i>	<i>mipandoyi</i>	<i>alendowo</i>
<i>uwo</i>		<i>mpandowu</i>
		<i>anthuwa</i>
<i>uwu</i>	<i>yanuyi</i>	<i>anthuwo</i>
		<i>mlanduwu</i>

¹ Until more is known about the exclamatory particles in Nyanja, some latitude should be allowed in the spelling of them. That their phonological system differs from that of other parts of speech is

proved conclusively by Trevor Hill in his thesis *The phonetics of a Nyanja-speaker with particular reference to the phonological structure of the word*, London University M.A. thesis, 1948.

12. **-o** (their) is a possessive and belongs to the group composed of **-nga**, **-ko**, **-ce**, **-thu**, **-nu**, **-o**. This group is quite distinct from the stemless series which contains **awo**, meaning 'those' (see col. 1, para. 11).¹ It is therefore correct to continue to write:

Ali kwao. They are at home. *makasu ao* their hoes
zinthu zao their things but *makasu awo* those hoes

13. The linking element **na-** (with, and) precedes an *element*, not a *possessive*, so that the current practice of writing 'nao' is incorrect: it should be **nawo**.

Examples

Nditsagana nawo (Cl. 2). I accompany them.
Ndili nawo abakha aja (Cl. 2). I have got those ducks.
Mpeni ndili nawo (Cl. 3). I have got a knife.
Mafuta ndili nawonso (Cl. 6). I have also got some oil.

14. **ina** (some, other; Classes 4 and 9) is the best standard spelling. It does justice to the commonest pronunciation, and at the same time it matches other members of the series such as **cina** (Cl. 7), but a variant beginning with a glide ('yina') is sometimes heard.

Examples

mipeni ina other knives *nkhuku ina* another fowl

15. The prefixes of nominals in Classes 3 and 4 whose stem begins with a vowel, e.g. **-endo** (leg), **-ala** (stone), **-ono** (fish trap), **-ulu** (heap), should be written consistently as **mw-/m-** (Cl. 3) and **my-** (Cl. 4). Here again it is desirable to establish one spelling, despite those speakers whose pronunciation of the prefix in Class 4 would be more accurately represented by a vowel (**i**) than by a semi-vowel (**y**).

Examples

mwendo	mwala	mono	mulu
myendo	myala	myono	myulu

16. After consonants the present spelling (with **y** and **w**) should be preserved.

Examples

<i>tidye</i>	let us eat	<i>nyalugwe</i>	leopard
<i>fodya</i>	tobacco	<i>mpeni wakuthwa</i>	sharp knife

17. At Likoma and in some Cewa-speaking districts, including the Fort Jameson district of Northern Rhodesia, there is an important distinction between the common labiovelar **w**, heard in **kuwaza** (to sprinkle or scatter), and a closely lip-rounded **w**, heard in **kuŵaza** (to chop or cleave). For **ŵ** the tongue is in a close **i** position. The quality of this sound therefore resembles German **ü** or French **u** (*über*, *sur*).

If the literature of Northern and Western Cewa ever becomes dialectal enough to

¹ It is interesting to find that in the Northern Cewa of Kasungu the **w** of **uwu** and **awo** is clearly articulated, so that once again no distinction (other than tonal) is made between the pronunciation of **awo**

(those) and 'awo' (their). But this does not alter the necessity for distinguishing between **awo** 'those' and **ao** 'their' in an orthography intended for all the dialects.

warrant the introduction of a special symbol, then \mathring{w} (w with a circumflex accent)¹ should be used for the vocalic variety, whereas in the meantime w should continue to represent both sounds.

IV. CONSONANTS OTHER THAN NASALS

18. **c** and **ch**. The Spelling Rules of 1931 laid down that **c** should replace **ch**, regardless of the fact that **c** and **ch** (the aspirated and unaspirated varieties of **c**) are just as distinctive throughout all the Nyanja dialects as **p** and **ph**, **t** and **th**, **k** and **kh**. It is therefore necessary to restore **ch**, giving it a properly limited place in the orthography.²

c and **ch** serve to distinguish meaning as first consonants of the verbal radical.

Examples

Anacedwa, John. He was late, was John.
Anachedwa John. He was called John.

19. With nominals we have to distinguish between six different classes. In most of these classes aspiration or non-aspiration are regular features, but in one of the classes aspirated consonants alternate with unaspirated ones in similar position.

(i) In Class 7 the prefix is unaspirated.

Examples

cinthu thing cikho cup

(ii) In Class 5 the four consonants are nearly always aspirated in first position.

Examples

chika	rough or old mat	thumba	bag
phili	mountain	khasu	hoe

(iii) In Class 6 they are unaspirated except in certain verbal derivatives.

Examples

macika	rough or old mats	matumba	bags
mapili	mountains	makasu	hoes

(iv) Aspiration occurs in junction with the inseparable nasal of Classes 9 and 10.

Examples

nchito	work	nthawi	time
nphelo	grinding-mill	nkhalamba	aged person

¹ The neighbouring language of *Nsenga* at present employs this symbol. Some of the older 'Lake' Nyanja texts printed at Likoma also employed \mathring{w} , but in the later texts this symbol has been abandoned because, as in Cewa, the two varieties of w have only a limited spread within the dialect area.

² In 'Lake' Nyanja the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated consonants is, if anything, even more significant than in the Cewa or Maganja dialects, yet no attempt is made to differentiate

between them in writing. As if deliberately to confuse the issue **ch** is used for both varieties of **c**, as against **p**, **t**, **k** for the double varieties of these three consonants. Thus **uci** (honey) and **uchi** (smoke) are spelt 'uchi', whilst **-ponya** (throw) and **-phonya** (miss) are both spelt '-ponya'.

If these and other minor anomalies were put right there is no reason why texts written in 'Lake' Nyanja should not have a wider circulation than at present.

Compare with these the related verbals -cita (do), -pela (grind), -kalamba (grow old).

(v) In Classes 1*a* and 3*a*, after the syllables **ka-** and **na-**, there is no aspiration.

Examples

kacasu (uyu) (Class 1 <i>a</i>)	(this) native liquor
kacele (uwu) (Class 3 <i>a</i>)	(this) <i>kacele</i> tree
nacile (uyu) (Class 1 <i>a</i>)	(this) billow

(vi) In Class 3 aspirated as well as unaspirated consonants occur in first position of the radical. The words which contain an aspirated consonant in this position frequently have no associated verbal form.

Examples

mchedwe (also mcheledwe)	act of plucking	mcele	salt
mphika	cooking pot	mpini	tool-handle
mthennga	message	mtenngo	tree
mkhate	jar	mkate	bread

20. **1** for **1/r**. **1** should be written instead of **1/r** on all occasions. It is not necessary to labour this point as it is one on which the inter-territorial language conference of 1947 came to an agreement.

Examples

<i>biliwili</i>	blue or green	<i>cipolopolo</i>	bullet
<i>phelele</i>	token	<i>cipululu</i>	waste land
<i>-balalika</i>	become dispersed		

21. *Affricates*. **dz** and **ts** are distinct from **z** and **s** in first and second radical positions in almost every variety of spoken Nyanja, except Eastern Mananja where **z** and **s** are heard throughout.

Examples

<i>Cewa</i>		<i>Eastern Mananja</i>	
<i>dzala</i>	ash heap	'zala'	ash heap
<i>zala</i>	fingers	<i>zala</i>	fingers
<i>-tseka</i>	shut	'-seka'	shut
<i>-seka</i>	laugh	<i>-seka</i>	laugh

In the interests of uniformity Mananja should follow the Cewa spelling, as indeed is being done at present.

The current orthography also distinguishes between **bv/v** and **pf/f**. It is doubtful whether the sounds represented by **bv** are phonologically distinct from those represented by **v**. In all probability they are merely dialect variants. There is no doubt, however, that **pf** in first radical position is distinct from **f**. As there is some doubt about the first pair, but none about the second, it is best to support the current practice of drawing a distinction in both cases. There are relatively few words involved, and Scott's *Dictionary* gives clear guidance on the majority of them.

22. *Affricates (contd.)*. **bz/ps** rather than **bzy/phy** etc. One and the same verbal is often found in as many as four different spellings. The word meaning 'to catch alight' is found as **kuphya**, **kupsya**, or **kupsa**, and in 'Lake' Nyanja as **kupya**.

The quality of the **p** (whether aspirated or unaspirated) and the exact nature of

the consonant and vowel glide which accompany it vary from dialect to dialect, and even within the major dialects themselves. Cewa alone has the voiced counterpart written **bz** or **bzy** (never conventionally 'bhy'). Since Western and Central Cewa are richest in radicals containing these ranges of sounds it will be best to base the general law upon Cewa.

23. Over a large part of the Cewa area **p** and **b** are sometimes accompanied by alveolar-labialized or 'whistling' fricatives. For Shona, where similar sounds occur quite widely, it was decided to introduce two special symbols, namely *s with a loop* (**ṣ**) and *partial z with a loop* (**ḥ**),¹ but these symbols are not necessary for Nyanja, since the sounds which they represent only occur in combination with **p** and **b**, a context in which the ordinary varieties of **s** and **z** do not occur. We are therefore quite safe in writing **ps** and **bz**, which readers from non-Cewa dialect areas should have no difficulty in interpreting and pronouncing in their own way.

Examples

Unvoiced		Voiced	
-psipa	suck through a reed	-bzikula	} chew the cud
-pselela	get burnt to cinders	-bzukula	
-psa	catch alight	-bzela	sweep
-psontha	sip	-bzala	plant
-psukula	squeeze	-bzola	pierce

24. **sh** rather than a new symbol. In words borrowed from Swahili and English the sound **sh** (phonetic **ʃ**) sometimes occurs, as in **posho** (native ration), and **pozishoni** (position). In one variety of Cewa a similar sound occurs in place of **s**, e.g. **-bisha** (hide). This sound has no phonological importance and therefore does not warrant the use of a special symbol.

25. *Implosive b and d*. Implosive and explosive varieties of **b** and **d** occur in Nyanja, but only in mutually exclusive contexts, which again obviates the need for special symbols.

V. THE VELAR NASAL SIGN

26. The symbol **ŋ** provides a means of representing the velar nasal sound which occurs in Nyanja before **g**, **k**, **w**, and occasionally before vowels.

Examples

ngati	if	mpeni wojwuno (womwe-uno)	this very knife
koykuno	hereabouts	-gugudza	mutter

27. The 'in' sign is already in use in most of the principal Bantu languages that require it, and its adoption for Nyanja is advocated in Rule 2 of the Northern Rhodesia Rules of 1936.

At present three symbols, namely **n+g+apostrophe**, are being used instead of one. This **ng'** is too clumsy to use before consonants and **w**, and there is the further drawback that in Nyanja the apostrophe is required as a mark of omission after nasals, which makes it undesirable to put it to a second and widely different use.

28. In some Bantu languages it might be argued that **ŋ** need never be written before **g** and **k**, but in Nyanja one wants to distinguish between **ng** and **nk** (where

¹ See C. M. Doke's *A Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics*, Johannesburg, 1931, pp. 86-9.

n is the prefix of the 'n' Classes) and **ng** and **nk** when the nasal is not a prefix. This distinction is necessitated by the common occurrence, particularly in Class 1a, of stems beginning with a nasal (see para. 36).

29. Further reasons for writing **ŋ** systematically are:

(a) In Cewa four different elements, namely:

ndi- (and); **ndi-** (is/are, &c.); **ndi-** (prefix of the 1st person); **mu-** (prefix of the 2nd person)

are often abbreviated to a homorganic nasal.

(b) Nasals of various significance also occur in compounds such as **wonwuno** and **ali-m'kupita**.

30. To represent all these different nasals without creating ambiguity and confusion, the first essential is to be consistent. Once **ŋ** is admitted into the orthography it must be allowed to take its proper place there. If we restrict **ŋ** in an arbitrary manner by only writing it before vowels, then the new symbol serves no better purpose than the old convention of writing **ng**.

VI. THE HOMORGANIC NASAL

31. In Eastern Maŋanja, the dialect upon which nearly all the earlier grammars and dictionaries were based, the prefixes of all the nasal classes are pronounced homorganically. In Cewa the inseparable nasal prefixes (Cl. 9 and 10) are 'neutral' or homorganic, whereas the articulation of the separable nasals (Cl. 1, 3, 17) is always bilabial (**m**).

By 'homorganic' one means that in the combination *nasal+consonant* the articulation of the nasal depends on the nature of the consonant which accompanies it. So we hear **m** before **b** and **p**, **ŋ** before **g** and **k**, &c.

32. When it comes to devising a spelling for these nasal prefixes it is obviously impossible to follow the pronunciation. For one thing the two main dialects have different laws of pronunciation with respect to the nasals. Secondly, even if one of the dialects were taken as 'standard', nothing useful would be gained by representing one and the same prefix in three or four different ways.

The best solution is to conventionalize the spelling of the nasal prefixes by always writing **m** for Classes 1, 3, and 17 (the latter **m'**) and **n** for Classes 9 and 10.

33. There is some opposition to the use of **n** (for the 'n' Classes) from persons who disapprove of 'grammatical' (that is systematic) spelling. Yet, strangely enough, a systematic spelling by which **m** is written for all the 'm' Classes has been in general use for several decades. The convention is so well established that most people scarcely realize that what is written as **m** corresponds, in one of the principal dialects, to four distinctly different speech sounds; to symbolize all of these, which is quite unnecessary, one would have to introduce the character **m̐** for the labio-dental nasal. The following examples illustrate this point.

Examples

m peni (pronounced m peni in E. Maŋ.), Class 3	knife
m fiti (pronounced m̐ fiti in E. Maŋ.), Class 1	sorcerer
m seu (pronounced n seu in E. Maŋ.), Class 3	road
m' khola (pronounced ŋ khola in E. Maŋ.), Class 17	in the cattle kraal

34. If one accepts the rule that **m** is written to represent four different sounds, then there can be no objection to standardizing the 'n' prefix in a similar way—even though it necessitates writing **n** before **b** and **p**.

By this method words in Classes 1 or 3 can always be distinguished at a glance from those in Classes 9 or 10.

Examples

separable prefix		inseparable prefix	
mbale	fellow clansman	nbale	plate
mphelo (Manj.)	blunt-headed arrow	nphelo	grinding-mill
mvukuto	bellows	nvula	rain
mfulu	generous person	nfuti	gun
mthenga	message	nthenga	feather
mgodi	mine	ngodia	corner
mkhate	jar	nkhani	story

35. Only a few minor problems remain. The first concerns those nominals whose class fluctuates, e.g. **-fumu** (chief), a word which is sometimes used in Class 1 and sometimes in Class 9. The solution is to allow two alternative spellings, namely:

mfumu (uyu)

nfumu (iyi)

depending on the agreement which **-fumu** controls in the particular sentence. In sentences where there are no concords, the spelling which is most nearly homorganic (i.e. **mfumu**) should be used; and it is to be hoped that this form will, in the course of time, become 'standard'.

36. Certain nominals in Classes 1/1a, 3/3a, 9a/10a, have stems beginning with a nasal. Some of these stems are clearly preceded by a separable nasal of Classes 1 or 3, others are not.

Examples

Separable Prefix		Zero Prefix	
<i>mnansi</i> (1/2)	neighbour	<i>namwali</i> (1a/2)	girl
<i>mnyamata</i> (1/2)	boy	<i>nyalugwe</i> (1a/2)	leopard
<i>mykhaka</i> (3/4)	cucumber	<i>ŋkhoswe</i> (1a/2)	guardian
<i>myoma</i> (3/4)	bee-hive	<i>ŋoma</i> (9a/10a)	drum
<i>mnzace</i> (multiple class)	his companion	<i>mbuyanga</i> (1a/2)	my grandparent
<i>mmelo</i> (3/4)	gullet	<i>mimba</i> (9a/10a)	belly

37. In Cewa the presence or absence of a separable nasal prefix can always be detected in speech by watching the speaker's lips, whereas in Eastern Manjanja the problem is obscured by the existence of the homorganic nasal.

Even in Cewa there are a number of nominals which have alternative pronunciations within the dialect itself: some speakers using a nasal prefix, others not. Moreover it is quite usual for words such as **ŋkhoswe** (often **nkhoswe**, 9/10) to fluctuate between two classes, as was shown in paragraph 35.

38. Whenever an 'n' prefix word such as **nphasa**, 'mat' is found in another class, e.g. **kanphasa**, Class 12, 'little mat' or **panphasa**, Class 15, 'on the mat', the nasal will retain its prefixal spelling. The reason is that Nyanja speakers immediately connect **kanphasa** with **nphasa**, and it would therefore be unnecessarily

pedantic to write the nasal of **kanphasa** as **m** merely because it no longer operates as a prefix.

Apart from this one type of exception, the rule is simply that genuine nasal prefixes are written **m** (Cl. 1 or 3) or **n** (Cl. 9 or 10); all other nasals are written as pronounced.

39. Lastly, we have to consider nominals beginning with **mm**, where the first **m** is the prefix and the second **m** is part of the stem. Such words often take a further nasal prefix of Class 17 before them, thus becoming **m'mm**. Even in Cewa, however, the audible duration of three nasals is no greater than that of two nasals, so that it is once again only the concords or (harder to decide) the potential concords which provide the clue to the correct spelling.

Examples

Single Prefix		Double Prefix	
<i>mmelo</i>	gullet	<i>m'mmelo</i>	in the gullet
<i>mmawa uno</i>	this morning	<i>m'mmawa mwace</i>	during the (following) morning
<i>mmamawa</i>	(early) morning	<i>m'mmamawa</i>	during the (early) morning
<i>nbuyo yomweyo</i>	the back itself	<i>m'nbuyo mwace</i>	at the back of him

40. The current spelling for words in column 2 is ' *m'melo* ' and ' *m'mawa* ', &c., which is wrong in view of **mimelo**, **kummelo**, **pammawa**, where the double nasal is audible.

There are many occasions when neither the context nor the concord can tell us whether to write **mmawa** or **m'mmawa**; the safest solution is to write **m'mmawa** where there is no concordial agreement in the sentence, but **mmawa** if there is an agreement of the type **uwu**.

VII. THE USE OF THE APOSTROPHE AFTER NASALS

41. The positive element **ndi-** (is/are, &c.) and the linking element **ndi-** (and/with, &c.) in colloquial Cewa often become abbreviated to a homorganic nasal. The former usually carries a low tone and the latter a high tone, but there are occasions when there is no tonal or other phonetic distinction between them.

These two elements should be written **n'** (**n**+apostrophe), regardless of the articulation, which inevitably changes from one word to the next.

Examples

<i>n'gwabwino</i>	(Cl. 1)	<i>n'zabwino</i>	(Cl. 8)
<i>n'gabwino</i>	(Cl. 2)	<i>n'kabwino</i>	(Cl. 12)
<i>n'jabwino</i>	(Cl. 4)	<i>n'tabwino</i>	(Cl. 13)
<i>n'labwino</i>	(Cl. 5)	<i>n'pabwino</i>	(Cl. 15)
<i>n'dabwino</i>		<i>n'kwabwino</i>	(Cl. 16)
<i>n'cabwino</i>	(Cl. 7)	<i>n'mwabwino</i>	(Cl. 17)

n'munda

it's a garden or
with a garden

n'kosatheka

it's impossible

Tidapita n'kukagula
zonsezo.

We went and bought
all those things.

42. Two verbal prefixes in Cewa can be abbreviated to a homorganic nasal. The first is **ndi-** (I), and the second is **mu-** (you). These should be written **n** and **m** respectively, and they should be fully joined to the rest of the word.¹

Examples

nkupita I am going *mkudziwa* you know

43. In careless writing and printing the apostrophe of **m'** (the prefix of Class 17) is often omitted, which is a fault to be avoided. The apostrophe is the only feature which distinguishes the prefix of Class 17 from that of Class 1 or Class 3.

Example

m'goma (not 'mgoma') in the drum (the word given in brackets means 'bee-hive')

44. The 'Action-in-Progress' tense which occurs in Cewa should be written with **m'**.

Example

ali-m'kusewela he is (in the act of) playing

It is probable, judging by phrases such as **ali pakusewela**, that the nasal in the above example is nothing other than the prefix of Class 17.

VIII. WORD DIVISION

45. The positive and negative elements (**ndi-** and **si-**) should always be fully joined to the words and elements to which they belong.

Examples

<i>Ici ndicipatso.</i>	This is a fruit.
<i>Zimenezo ndizanga.</i>	Those are mine.
<i>Ndiine, siwina.</i>	It is none other than I.
<i>Ndine mphunzitsi.</i>	I am a teacher.

46. The linking elements **na-** and **ndi-**, meaning 'and, with', should also always be joined to the words and elements to which they belong.

Examples

<i>Ana ndiakulu adasonykhana pabwalo.</i>	Children and adults forgathered at the court.
<i>Adapitako ndikubwelanso kuno.</i>	He went there and came back here.
<i>Wapitako pamodzi ndianzao.</i>	He has gone there with his companions.
<i>Ndaonana ndiCe Uje (ndi A Uje).</i>	I have met Mr. So-and-so.
<i>Zonse ndili nazo.</i>	I have got everything.
<i>Adagwa pansi, mafuta natayika.</i>	He fell down and the oil got spilt.

47. The spelling of **natayika** in the last example presents two points of interest. Although the first **a** of **natayika** is pronounced long there is no need to write a double vowel (nor also in 'safuna'), since there is no possibility of confusion with

¹ Some authorities argue that all these shortened forms should be debarred from 'standard written Nyanja', yet these forms are just as essential to Cewa

as 'don't you?' and 'won't you?' are to colloquial English writing.

any other word of similar shape. Secondly, *y* is written in *natayika* since **-tayika** is clearly related to **-taya**.

48. Prefixes should never be split off from their parent words.¹

Examples

<i>mwana wamkazi</i>	female child or woman's child
<i>mau anzelu</i>	sensible words or words of sense
<i>mseu wakuLilongwe</i>	the road to Lilongwe
<i>ghhoswe wakucikazi</i>	woman's guardian

49. Compound tenses built with **-ti** and **-li** should be hyphenated when both components retain their identity, but written as one word when their identities are destroyed by elision, &c.

Examples

<i>nditi-ndinene</i> (but <i>nditanene</i>)	I am going to say
<i>ali-kudandaula</i> (but <i>akudandaula</i>)	he is complaining

50. Reduplicated dependent nominals should be hyphenated if the two stems are similar, regardless of whether the prefixes of the two components are identical or not.

Examples

<i>kawili-kawili</i>	often	<i>mwatsatane-tsatane</i>	in sequence
<i>payono-payono</i>	gradually	<i>cimodzi-modzi</i>	one and the same (thing)
<i>kweni-kweni</i>	really and truly	<i>zaziyono-ziyono</i>	very small (things)

51. Some terms of relationship and personal ownership (**mwini-**) consist of an independent nominal and a possessive. The junction is so complete that the first word has lost its suffix, and in some cases the possessive has lost an initial prefix element.

Examples

<i>ambuyanga</i>	my grandparent
<i>mkazace</i>	his wife
<i>mwiniace</i>	himself, his own

52. There is a group of words whose etymology leaves practically no doubt that they are made up of two parts, but it is always the first component which operates the system of concords, the second component being grammatically 'dead'. Such words therefore form a single unit having but one prefix, which is why the nasals in the second half are written homorganically.

Examples

<i>gogomphanda</i> (uyu , not 'iyi')	woodpecker
<i>ciswambia</i> (ici , not 'iyi')	praying mantis
<i>ciombaykhanga</i> (ici , not 'iyi')	species of eagle

53. On the other hand there are some genuine compounds made up of **mwini** or **mwana** followed by another independent nominal. These should be hyphenated because the prefixes of both components are fully operative.

¹ *The Parts of Speech*, op. cit., p. 24.

Examples

<i>mwini-mlandu</i> (<i>uyu</i> or <i>mwu</i>)	plaintiff
<i>mwana-nphelo</i> (<i>uyu</i> or <i>iyi</i>)	upper part of grindmill

54. There are two complete series of compounds having the dependent stem **-mwe** in the first half and either **-no** or **-ja** in the second half, e.g. **comwe-cino** (often **concino**), **komwe-kuja** (often **konkuja**). These cannot be written as single words because of the prefix alternance in the second members; and they cannot be written as separate words because the first members have tone-patterns which are not found in self-standing words. There is no other option but to hyphenate.

55. For similar reasons it is also necessary to hyphenate the well-known series consisting of the defective verbal **-li** in close association with the dependent nominal **-nse**, e.g. **cili-conse** (anything at all), **pali-ponse** (anywhere at all), &c.

56. Reduplicated verbals are of one kind only. The suffix (whether **-a** or **-e**) is always the same in both halves. Whether we join or hyphenate is therefore merely a matter of practical convenience. It is easier for the reader if reduplicated verbals are hyphenated, the hyphen following the suffix of the first verbal.

Examples

<i>tisafune-fune</i>	let us not keep searching
<i>amangolongolola-longolola</i>	he just keeps on nattering

57. There are some twenty 'monosyllabic' verbals in Nyanja. These have reduplicated forms peculiar to themselves, which should be written with a hyphen.

Examples

<i>Ife ndife omva zotha-itha.</i> (Maŋanja: <i>zotha-atha</i>)	We are only concerned with the final outcome.
<i>Ukugona kunja koca-ica?</i> (Maŋanja: <i>koca-aca</i>)	You asleep! In broad daylight?

58. Reduplicated and multiple exclamatory particles should be hyphenated.

Examples

<i>gagala-gagala</i>	action of bustling about
<i>mwadzi-dzi-dzi</i>	suddenly and unexpectedly

59. Grammatical elements, such as **-ci**, **-co**, are often added to nominals. If the element stands in agreement with the nominal to which it is attached, then it should be fully joined to that nominal (e.g. **zikopazo**).

Similarly a grammatical element can become attached to a verbal as the object of that verbal, in which case it should be fully joined to the verbal.

Examples

<i>Anandipatsa zikopazo.</i>	He gave me those hides.
<i>Zimene ndanenazi ndizoona.</i>	What I have said is true.
<i>Tidzapitako mawa.</i>	We shall go there to-morrow.

60. It often happens, however, that an element of the above kind becomes attached to a nominal with which it does not stand in concordial agreement. This

construction is particularly common in Cewa and can give rise to confusion. The best solution is to join up the nominal and element if they belong together, but to separate them with a hyphen if the parent word to which the element belongs is located in another part of the sentence.

Examples

Mwana waima apo- yo sadziwa kanthu.	That child standing there knows nothing.
Taonani mkazi ali ndimtanga- yo !	Just look at <i>that woman</i> with the basket!
Taonani mkazi ali ndimtangawo!	Just look at the woman with <i>that basket</i> !

It will be obvious that in the last example **wo** agrees with **mtanga**, to which it is therefore fully joined, whereas in the previous example **yo** is hyphenated to **mtanga** because its parent word (**mkazi**) is in another part of the sentence.

The device of hyphenating is justified on its own merits, but it also provides the only method of distinguishing the shade of meaning when, as often happens, both nominals belong to the same class.

Examples

kalata waBwanayo	<i>that Bwana's</i> letter
kalata waBwana-yo	<i>that letter</i> of the Bwana's

In the first phrase one is referring to one of several Bwanas, in the second phrase to one of several letters.

IX. NAMES OF PLACES, TRIBES, AND PERSONS

61. In many African territories the spelling of place-names stands in need of thorough revision.¹ Nyasaland is no exception.

The discrepancy between the pronunciation and the spelling of Nyasaland place-names, which is very noticeable at the present day, is due to two main causes. The first of these is that some of the names were wrongly recorded by the early British settlers, who misheard sounds which are unfamiliar to English ears, especially initial nasal consonants.

The second source of error lies in the limitations of the early spelling, which made no distinction between aspirated and unaspirated consonants. Thus **p** and **ph**, **t** and **th**, **k** and **kh** were, and in place-names still are, written as **p**, **t**, **k**; while **c** and **ch**, on the other hand, are rendered as **ch**.

62. A typical example of a 'spurious' initial nasal consonant is found in 'Ntondwe'. This is the conventional spelling of a river, hill, and township which ought properly to be written 'Thondwe'.

63. An example of the opposite kind, where an initial nasal consonant has been left out in the spelling, is 'Kota-Kota', pronounced 'Ŋkhotakhota'.²

'Thondwe' and 'Ŋkhotakhota' were mentioned to illustrate the false inclusion

¹ See A. N. Tucker, 'The Spelling of African Place-Names on Maps', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. xii, parts 3 and 4, pp. 824 et seq.

² On the subject of special symbols in place-names,

Dr. Tucker suggests that the spelling on local sign-posts and district maps should be allowed to differ from that on international maps. *Op. cit.*, p. 827, n. 1. But this is the only case in which latitude is permissible.

and omission of nasals, but they also show how the current spelling of place-names fails to take account of aspiration.

64. In an earlier part of this paper (para. 18) it was shown that **c** and **ch** are phonologically distinct in Nyanja. It is therefore surprising that the preamble to the Orthography Rules of 1931 lays down that in the spelling of place-names **c** (never **ch**) should be used if the document is written in Nyanja, whereas **ch** (never **c**) is correct 'in maps and official communications written in English'. This rule should be reconsidered if place-names are to be recorded with any degree of phonetic accuracy and consistency.

65. Wrong final vowels, such as **e** instead of **i** in 'Limbe' (properly 'Limbi'), are also quite common.

66. The best way to overcome all these inconsistencies and to arrive at a standard spelling for Nyasaland place-names would be to appoint a small territorial committee, whose aim would be to bring the writing and printing of geographical names into line with the local pronunciation and the latest orthography. One member of the committee would have to be a trained linguist with a thorough grasp of the phonetic issues involved, while at least one African from each province would be needed to supply the correct local pronunciation. A small preliminary survey would suffice to show whether the difficulties involved in a thorough revision are likely to be insuperable or not.

67. The prefixes of personal titles and names of tribes, dialects, languages, and persons are at present being written with an initial capital letter (e.g. 'Cinyanja'). It is better to reverse this practice: the prefix should have a small letter (except at the beginning of a sentence, see **ACewa** below), while the stem takes a capital letter.

Examples

<i>Mbusa wakwaA Kacipea adaima</i>	The shepherd from Mr. Kacipea's village stood near
<i>pafupi ndiBwana Case.</i> ¹	Mr. Case.
<i>ACewa ndiaMananja onse anena</i>	The Cewa and Mananja people all speak Nyanja.
<i>ciNyanja.</i>	

68. The only occasion on which a present-day prefix should be written as if it were a separate word is before Roman and Arabic figures, e.g. **caka ca 1950** (the year 1950), and before algebraic symbols. In both cases there is otherwise a danger of confusion between a cypher and a letter of the alphabet.

69. Capitals should not be used in writing **cizungu** (white man's language) or **cimwenye** (Indian trader's language), for in such cases **-zungu** and **-mwenye** are mere stems without meaning, the persons to whom they refer being **azungu** and **amwenye**. On the other hand **aMwenye** is correct when referring to the people of the **Mwenye** tribe who are found in the Port Herald district of Nyasaland.

70. The spelling of African surnames is subject to the same doubts and inconsistencies as the spelling of place-names. Nasal and aspirated consonants form the chief problem. It is quite common even for well-known authors to change the spelling of their names from one book-cover to the next.

¹ The Cewa honorific **A**, signifying **Mr.** and in certain contexts **Mrs.** or **Miss**, corresponds to **Ce** in Mananja. It is here proposed that **A** and **Ce**

should be written with capitals and regarded as separate words, despite the fact that by etymology they are probably mere prefixes.

The only advice that can be given is that aspiration should be indicated whenever it occurs; in the matter of nasal consonants the Cewa at least should have no difficulty in distinguishing between **m** and **n**.

71. The spelling of biblical and historical names at present is partly English and partly Bantu; often the two influences are clearly demarcated in one and the same word, as when **Filisti** (Philistine) is written with **l**, but **Farisi** (Pharisee) with **r**. These two spellings are particularly revealing because in Nyanja it is after **i** that one hears a sound resembling 'r', and after **a** a sound resembling 'l'. In fact we find that the use of **l/r** here is precisely contrary to Nyanja, whereas the change from initial **ph** to **f** is quite suitable to Nyanja.

It is not suggested that biblical and historical names should necessarily be completely 'naturalized', but only that a reasonable degree of consistency should be observed in transliterating them. Once **r**, for example, is deleted from the orthography of Nyanja it would be wrong to reintroduce it into bantuized versions of foreign names.

X. SPECIMEN TEXTS

1. *Cewa*¹

Tsiku lina m'mmawa kutaca, dzua lili-kutuluka, anthu apamidzi iwiliyo adayamba kupita kuzinchito zao: ena kuminda kokalima nphanje, ena kumilimo ina. Abusanso apamidzi yonse iwili adatulutsa ziweto zao, kupita nazo kudambo.

Magulu aŋombe zapanbali zonse ziwili adakomana pabusa limodzi, pafupi ndimudzi waA Msomekela, kufupi ndimadimba aja.

Posacedwa ŋombe ziwili zamikota zidayamba kumenyana. Ina idali yaA Kafodya akwaA Kacipea, ndiina yaA Msampha akwaA Msomekela. Kanthuwalila, mbusa wakwaA Kacipea adayanganila ŋombezo kuti zingaloe kumadimba kuja, pamene Mopsana, mbusa wakwaA Msomekela, adacokapo ndikupita ndianzace ena kukasewela kutali paŋono ndikumene kudali ŋombezo.

Mwadzi-dzi-dzi Kanthuwalila adaona imodzi yaŋombe zomenyana zija itagwa pansi. Iye poti ayandikile adapeza yathyoka nyanga yace yakumanzele ŋombe yaMopsana ija, yaŋgothyokela patsinde.

2. *Manjanja*²

Mfumu Wandigoma atawelenga kalata ija, anapita kwaakazao, nati, 'Mace Uje, tamva zinena mulongwako! Ati kuti ndimtumizile mphaka wosakhala wanphongo kapena wathadzi. Mamuna ŋkhatolaula ameneyi! Iye mphaka wacetu anena zilengolengo; apo inu kwanuko munali nazo nyama zotelezo eti? Cowe! Ndikatoiwala, ndikacedwa ndizacabe, ati kuti mkazace ali ndimwana. Dkhanandiuza ŋgati mwanayo ali mkamwinianu kapena mpongozanu: ndiesa ali ŋgati mphaka afuna iyeyo.'

3. 'Lake' Nyanja³

Munthu adakhala kuthengo adaweta mŋkhwele. Ndimŋkhwele yuja ndiyo mwawi wake kukhoza kuthamangicha nbalame pavipacho ndinandolo wake. Siku limoji munthu uja

¹ The text is taken from an unpublished story by Mr. Lester L. Nkomba. The author is a Nyasaland teacher born at Maonde village, near Chief Kachere's court in the Dedza district.

² This passage is taken from a set of manuscripts collected by the Rev. Fr. Harry Cikuse. The author of this extract is a schoolboy whose home is in the

Mlanje district of Nyasaland.

³ The story is entitled *Munthu ndiMŋkhwele* (The Man and the Monkey) and is taken from *Esopo*, a small text printed at Likoma in 1944.

The transcription into the amended orthography was made with the help of Mr. A. E. Zimba, a teacher whose home is at Madimba on Likoma Island.

adagona litulo lausana, mŋkhwele yuja adakhala panthiti yake adazithamangicha nchenche pamaso yake. Nchenche imoji idaima pothela panphuno yake. Mŋkhwele adaseka, adaithamangicha. Idajancho pandevu zake mpaka mŋkhwele adakwia ndithu, adaponya mwala adaimenya nchenche, nampho adauponya ndithu mpaka adaswa cibwanyo caambuye wake.

Msamapaŋga njelu zoyanguka: ganizilani poyamba umo siikhalile.

XI. SUMMARY OF PRINCIPAL CHANGES

1. **aa** as in *aafika* (they have arrived), *aawapatsa* (they have given them), *ana aayono*.
2. **y** and **w**: *iyi*, *mipenyi*, *uwu*, *mpeniwu*, *awo* (those), *ndili nawo*. Note: *myendo*, *myala*.
3. Absence of **y** and **w**: *kusia*, *kugea*, *kuloa*, *dzua*, *ao* (their), *mipeni ina*.
4. **c** and **ch**: *anacedwa* (he was late), *cinthu*, *kacasu*; but *anachedwa* (he was named), *chika*, *nchito*.
5. **l** for **l/r**: *phili*, *lelo*.
6. **ps** and **bz**: *kupsa*, *kupselela*, *kubzala*, *kubzela*.
7. **ŋ**: *ngati*, *kuyankha*, *gombe*, *kuyugudza*.
8. **n**: *nbeu*, *nphelo*, *mwula*, *nfuti*, and all other words in Classes 9 and 10.
9. **m'**: *m'mmelo*, *m'mmawa mwace*, *m'munda*.
10. **n'**: *n'cabwino*, *n'kosatheka*.
11. **Join**: *ndicipatso*, *sicipatso*, *wamkazi*, *zanzelu*, *wakuLilongwe*, *mlengalenga*, *mwiniace*, *ciswambia*.
12. **Hyphenate**: *nditi-ndinene*, *ndili-kunena*, *kweni-kweni*, *mwini-mlandu*, *comwe-cino*, *ali-yense*, *kufuna-funa*, *gwebede-gwebede*, *cu-cu-cu*.
13. **Join** elements to parent words: *mipenyi*; but **hyphenate** them if the parent word stands in another part of the sentence: *mlandu wayombe-wu*.
14. **Capitals**: *zakuNyasaland*, *ciNyanja*, *Ce Uje*, *A Uje*.

ADDENDUM

A STENCILLED *Memorandum on Orthography* (pp. 15) from Northern Rhodesia, which was received while this article was in page proof, raises points which demand a fuller reply than can be given here. Most people agree, for instance, that the special symbols of the *Africa* alphabet should be used only where they are essential, but there is no convincing argument for abolishing them altogether. G. A.

LE CONSENTEMENT AU MARIAGE ET SON ÉVOLUTION CHEZ LES BETAMMADIBE

P. MERCIER

LES populations du cercle de Natitingou sont sans doute, au Dahomey, celles qui ont été le moins profondément affectées par l'influence européenne.¹ Au moins l'apparence extérieure de leur vie a-t-elle fort peu changé. On les présente comme un cas extrême de résistance aux influences étrangères, et c'est en partie exact. Leurs contacts avec les cultures africaines voisines ont été assez réduits dans la période historique récente, et il n'en est pas autrement, jusqu'ici, avec la culture européenne.² Mais alors que nul peuple voisin n'avait réussi à s'installer chez eux pour tenter de leur imposer une administration centralisée, les Européens l'ont fait. Ils demeurent, en tant que groupes, réticents devant ces formes nouvelles. Mais les individus ont vite recouru à l'administration et à la justice nouvelles lorsque leurs solutions semblaient permettre, dans tels cas particuliers, de faire échec à l'ordre ancien qui allait à l'encontre de leurs intérêts. Ainsi se sont produites les premières failles dans la structure traditionnelle. Elles se sont étendues de proche en proche et l'action des conceptions et des solutions nouvelles, par leur seule présence virtuelle, a déjà été grande.³ Dans le domaine du mariage, en particulier, on peut en constater les effets étendus. C'est l'étude du problème du consentement, familial et individuel, au mariage, qui sera abordée ici dans un de ces groupes, habitant les environs de Natitingou. On verra que l'équilibre très délicat des institutions anciennes pouvait être aisément bouleversé, et l'a été déjà.

Les formes mêmes du mariage et les règles de l'attribution des enfants seront seulement décrites dans la mesure où leur connaissance est nécessaire à notre propos.

Formes de mariage et aspects du consentement

Trois formes de mariage sont reconnues, dont une pourtant est considérée comme le mariage légal par excellence, seul à s'intégrer pleinement dans la structure familiale, et seul à assurer de façon indiscutable le statut des enfants. C'est le mariage préparé par l'entente des familles représentées par leurs chefs (père ou grand-père), à partir de laquelle la jeune fille — si jeune soit-elle à ce moment — est considérée non seulement comme promise, mais comme déjà mariée. Le signe extérieur de ce mariage est constitué par les prestations dues par le jeune homme à sa belle-famille, et par les présents annuels de nourriture offerts à celle-ci. Prestations et présents s'étendent sur une dizaine d'années. Le mariage ne pourra devenir effectif — c'est à dire, la femme ne pourra aller habiter chez son mari — qu'une fois cette période achevée, et à la condition encore que les conjoints aient atteint un certain degré dans l'échelle des classes d'âge à base triennale. Pendant la période préliminaire au mariage, entre l'entente de principe et la réalisation effective, seul le jeune homme joue un rôle. Elle coïncide pour la jeune fille avec un temps de liberté sexuelle non seulement admise mais recommandée.

¹ Voir p. 227.

² En fait les points de contact avec la culture européenne sont encore peu nombreux.

³ Il n'est pas de discussion avec un vieillard, ou même avec un homme d'âge mûr, qui ne vienne très

vite à aborder le problème de l'influence européenne. Atteintes à l'autorité paternelle, rupture de l'équilibre entre intérêts familiaux et intérêts individuels, telles sont les deux charges principales qu'ils relèvent contre elle.

La jeune fille ayant dès lors le statut théorique de femme mariée, un statut normal est donné à l'avance aux enfants qui naîtront avant mariage (c'est non seulement un cas général, mais une quasi-obligation), et sur lesquels le père physiologique n'a aucun droit.

Dans ce premier cas, l'aspect essentiel du consentement est d'ordre familial. Une fois le signe rituel du consentement accompli par la famille de la jeune fille, les deux groupes sont tenus de respecter l'engagement pris.¹ Un des aspects de celui-ci est d'obtenir le consentement des conjoints eux-mêmes. Cela ne pose pratiquement pas de problème en ce qui concerne le jeune homme. Mais il est plus difficile dans de nombreux cas d'obtenir le consentement de la jeune fille. Nous verrons que les conditions actuelles ont relâché dans une certaine mesure la pression familiale, et rendu le problème plus aigu.

Quand la femme n'a pas été accordée en mariage à une autre famille — soit qu'elle n'ait pas fait l'objet d'une demande, soit qu'aucune entente n'ait pu se réaliser — elle conserve théoriquement toute sa vie un statut de célibataire (*kupokoku*). C'est à dire que son seul bien juridique reste avec sa propre famille et son propre clan, et que ses enfants seront sous la responsabilité juridique et rituelle de son frère aîné. Mais elle a la possibilité, au lieu de demeurer près de ses frères, d'aller s'installer chez l'homme de son choix. C'est un mariage qui se présente d'abord comme un mariage de fait. Sa valeur juridique est moindre que dans le cas précédent. Mais il peut se régulariser, le mari devenant le père légal des enfants nés après le mariage. L'essentiel est ici le consentement individuel, celui des familles n'est obtenu qu'ensuite — et généralement sans trop de difficultés: il n'y a aucun engagement antérieur à rompre.

Une troisième forme de mariage est connue et nommée. Mais c'est cette fois un mariage de fait qui n'a que peu de chances de devenir tout à fait légal, et qui est d'ailleurs plus instable que les autres. S'il se présente souvent comme simple concubinage temporaire, il peut aussi se régulariser. C'est bien une forme institutionnalisée. On pourrait l'appeler mariage par enlèvement consenti. Chaque clan a, dans tels autres clans définis, le droit théorique d'enlever les femmes épousées par les membres de ces clans, quitte à s'exposer à représailles, même guerrières. La formation des couples repose sur le consentement individuel — rituellement exprimé d'ailleurs — et ne peut être légalisée qu'avec difficulté. Il faut obtenir le consentement au divorce de la famille du mari et le consentement de la famille de la femme au nouveau mariage.² Le statut des enfants est l'objet de violents conflits: les enfants nés après que la femme a quitté son premier mari sont en théorie sous la dépendance juridique et rituelle de celui-ci, et l'arrangement est lent à se faire.

On peut résumer les faits précédents dans ce tableau:

	1	2
Mariage-travail (<i>mupopāmu</i>)	Consentement familial	Consentement individuel
Mariage avec <i>kupokoku</i>	Consentement individuel	Consentement familial généralement obtenu
Mariage par enlèvement consenti (<i>kupotyua</i>)	Consentement individuel	Consentement familial rarement obtenu

¹ L'engagement ne devient caduc que dans le cas de décès d'un des futurs conjoints. Sa rupture pose un grave problème, puisqu'aucune forme de compensation ou 'remboursement' n'était tradition-

nnellement prévue.

² Les parents maternels auront en effet à jouer dans la vie des enfants un rôle capital (initiations, funérailles).

Remarquons que les deux premières formes intéressent généralement des individus de même clan. Les lignées seules sont exogames, le mariage à l'intérieur du clan est au contraire recommandé. Les mariages à l'extérieur du clan (ou de clans très étroitement alliés) semblent avoir été autrefois l'exception,¹ mais deviennent plus fréquents aujourd'hui. Le mariage *kupotyua*, au contraire, se conclut entre individus de clans différents; il est en principe interdit dans les limites du clan. On comprend que les réactions à sa régularisation soient fortes, puisqu'il s'agit d'une perte de substance pour le clan lésé—bien que la réciprocité du droit théorique à l'enlèvement soit reconnue et jouée à plein entre clans.²

Le statut de la femme et le consentement individuel

La femme a droit à la plus entière liberté sexuelle. Mais la situation est très différente si elle a été ou non promise dans son enfance. Dans le premier cas, cette liberté sexuelle n'est que temporaire, et finit au mariage. Dans le second cas, elle n'est pas limitée dans le temps, à moins que la femme, de son plein gré, ne se décide à un mariage du deuxième type. Nous indiquerons seulement ici les conditions théoriques de cette liberté sexuelle.

Le signe essentiel en est la possibilité pour la jeune fille de refuser toutes relations sexuelles avec son futur mari pendant ce qu'on pourrait appeler la période de fiançailles. Il ne s'agit aucunement d'une interdiction; mais c'est pour la femme l'occasion d'affirmer une indépendance qu'en principe elle perdra lorsqu'elle ira rejoindre son mari. Elle choisit un amant que l'on peut qualifier d'officiel, duquel elle aura probablement un ou plusieurs enfants avant son mariage.³ Ces enfants sont légalement attribués au mari et iront vivre chez celui-ci lorsque la femme le rejoindra. Ils sont en attendant élevés dans leur famille maternelle. Le père physiologique n'a aucun droit sur eux. Pourtant, si leur statut est identique à celui des enfants nés après le mariage, les relations de fait avec leur père legal sont assez différents.⁴

Le fiancé ne doit en principe manifester aucune jalousie envers l'amant. Il a de son côté sa propre maîtresse, envers qui il a, durant cette période, plus d'obligations personnelles qu'envers sa future femme. Nous verrons qu'il n'en est pas toujours ainsi, d'autant plus qu'il se crée entre la jeune fille et son amant des liens affectifs qui risquent souvent de ne jamais exister entre elle et son mari. La concurrence, parfois violente, entre prétendants aux faveurs de la jeune fille est beaucoup plus fréquente, d'autant que le succès auprès des femmes est une source importante de prestige. La jeune fille peut avoir plusieurs amants, mais cela est fort mal jugé par le groupe de parenté. L'idéal est de rester fidèle à un seul jusqu'au mariage.

Nous avons indiqué que ces relations sexuelles avant mariage ne sont nullement

¹ Si l'on excepte les mariages avec des femmes d'origine tout à fait étrangère. C'était plutôt achat réel d'une captive qui prenait peu à peu rang d'épouse légale.

² En dehors de ces trois formes de mariage, il faut signaler le remariage des veuves selon la règle léviratique; celle-ci n'est d'ailleurs qu'un idéal, la veuve jouissant, et de plus en plus, d'une grande liberté de choix, et ayant toute facilité pour l'enfreindre.

³ Dans ce groupe, la date du mariage dépend de

l'accomplissement des cérémonies d'initiation qui ont lieu à plus de vingt ans. Ailleurs, le mariage n'intervenait en principe qu'après la deuxième ou troisième naissance.

⁴ Dans ce contexte, les interdits spéciaux au fils et à la fille aînés sont aisément compréhensibles. La différence entre eux et leurs frères et sœurs plus jeunes au point de vue juridique et rituel se double d'une importante différence dans l'attitude affective envers le père.

clandestines. Elles sont dans une large mesure institutionalisées, et, dès que la jeune fille a fait son choix, les manifestations extérieures ne manquent pas. Il y a échange de services, de repas, de présents; ces manifestations ne se placent d'ailleurs pas sur le plan individuel, mais intéressent un groupe d'amants et le groupe de leurs maîtresses, généralement de la même classe d'âge. Les jeunes gens viennent préparer les champs d'arachides des jeunes filles;¹ ils viennent aussi aider à la récolte, et se voient offrir un repas en retour. Mais la manifestation principale est celle qui donne lieu à la fête annuelle *tipeinti*. À ce moment, la jeune fille va sarcler un champ de mil dans la famille de son amant, et un repas est préparé pour elle. Ce travail est suivi de joutes de chants qui durent toute la nuit. Les présents, généralement remis en public, ont aussi une grande importance: ils portent surtout, de part et d'autre, sur des bracelets et des colliers.

Pour la jeune fille promise, cette liberté cesse avec le mariage. Dès lors on doit feindre d'ignorer, en public, quelles relations elle a pu avoir avec tel ou tel. C'est, dans la plupart des mariages, un élément de tension et d'instabilité, au moins dans les commencements. Le consentement individuel au mariage n'est évidemment pas facilité par cet ensemble de pratiques. La femme, habitée au libre choix, est souvent reticente devant un mariage qu'elle n'a pas voulu. Nous verrons plus loin l'expression concrète de ces difficultés. On comprend que la troisième forme de mariage, par enlèvement consenti, revêt une telle importance quant au nombre des cas. Elle ne fait qu'exprimer, à contre-courant de la forme idéale de mariage, le prix que les femmes attachent au libre choix de leur mari. Pour la seconde forme, concernant les femmes qui n'ont pas été officiellement promises, leur mariage n'est que la stabilisation d'un de ces libres choix auxquels toutes les femmes ont pu temporairement prétendre. Le cas des femmes qui jouissent de ce deuxième statut — femmes non promises — pose des problèmes beaucoup moins aigus.

Consentement familial et consentement individuel

Idéalement, consentement familial et consentement individuel doivent coïncider. C'est ce que les vieillards expriment en disant que la volonté de l'enfant ne peut normalement aller à l'encontre de celle des parents. Il est loin d'en être toujours ainsi. C'est l'aspect de conflit qui domine, et nous verrons que les influences récentes ont contribué à leur donner plus libre cours, en supprimant ou atténuant certaines pressions sociales. Ces conflits entre la volonté des chefs de famille et la volonté des individus se présentent différemment selon qu'il s'agit de l'une ou de l'autre forme de mariage.²

La première forme de mariage a pour base, nous l'avons indiqué, l'entente des deux familles. Le consentement de la famille sollicitée, celle de la femme, est rituellement exprimé. Après des conversations préliminaires conduites généralement sur un mode très évasif, et où le consentement n'est exprimé que de façon très vague, le rite suivant est exécuté. Le père du garçon prépare 5 cauris enfilés sur une cordelette,

¹ Qui fournissent à celles-ci des revenus personnels.

² En ce qui concerne le mariage des veuves, il n'y a pratiquement pas de conflits, dans l'état actuel des choses. Si la règle léviratique demeure l'idéal, la pression de la famille du mari sur la décision de la

veuve est très faible; elle est libre de se remarier dans cette famille, ou de rejoindre sa propre famille où son statut sera proche de celui d'une *kupokoku* (femme non-mariée) avec la possibilité ultérieure de se remarier à son gré.

qu'il cache dans un petit panier de fonio. Il le dépose sur l'autel des ancêtres, en prononçant une prière dont le thème général est: ' Nous disons que c'est nous qui cherchons des femmes, mais c'est vous qui nous les donnez; si cette femme nous est accordée, c'est à vous d'intervenir pour qu'elle ne nous soit pas enlevée.' Le panier reste toute la nuit sur l'autel et, le lendemain matin, le père l'emporte à la maison du chef de famille de la jeune fille. Il le lui remet, sans mot dire, et s'en retourne. Dans les quarante-huit heures, le panier est retourné, sans les cauris si la demande est acceptée, avec les cauris si elle est rejetée. En cas d'acceptation, le système des dons et prestations entre en vigueur dès ce moment. Le mariage est conclu.

Le consentement de la famille de la femme engage celle-ci. Son consentement personnel n'est pas pris en considération par les formes institutionnelles. Il s'en faut pourtant que la conformité idéale entre la volonté du chef de famille et celle de la femme se réalise toujours. Les chefs de famille en sont d'ailleurs parfaitement conscients. La liberté dont jouit la femme avant le mariage lui crée souvent des liens personnels avec un autre homme que son futur mari. Il s'agit donc de faire appel, lorsqu'elle doit rejoindre celui-ci, au respect de l'autorité paternelle. Le consentement de la femme est dans de nombreux cas obtenu par des pressions paternelles. Le dernier recours du père est la malédiction, qui était, et est encore aujourd'hui, très redoutée. Il suffit d'une menace, à mots couverts, d'appliquer cette malédiction, pour que la jeune fille obéisse. Mais nous verrons qu'il est des moyens, de plus en plus employés aujourd'hui, de se dégager de ses effets. La famille de la femme n'est tenue qu'à livrer celle-ci au moment du mariage: sa responsabilité n'est engagée que si elle est enlevée avant. C'est là que la crainte de la malédiction joue à plein. Une fois que la femme a rejoint son mari, l'engagement familial est rempli, et le père n'utilisera plus de sa malédiction: c'est dès lors au mari de retenir sa femme. Celle-ci n'est donc tenue qu'à rejoindre formellement son mari, et elle a tout loisir ensuite de marquer les conséquences de défaut de consentement.

C'est au mari et à sa famille de faire pression pour que la femme demeure. Dans les cas extrêmes, on avait recours à la violence. Mais c'est une arme fort dangereuse, comme nous allons le voir. Dans un village, deux exemples ont été notés où la femme, ayant rejoint son mari par crainte de la malédiction paternelle, se refusa à lui. Dans le premier cas, le mari usa d'elle de force avec l'aide de ses frères; la femme demeura cependant plusieurs années chez lui. Le second cas fut tragique; la femme s'était attachée à son amant, de qui elle avait eu deux enfants. Elle dut rejoindre son mari; elle se refusa à lui, et il dut l'attacher, aidé par ses frères. Le lendemain elle se pendit. Les deux faits remontent à environ vingt-cinq ans. Dans un autre village, un suicide de ce genre était aussi survenu. Il s'en faut que ces cas tragiques soient la règle. Plus généralement, la femme mariée non-consentante vit quelque temps avec son mari, puis contracte un mariage de la troisième forme avec l'homme de son choix. Elle a également le droit, sans que l'on puisse protester auprès de sa famille pour rupture d'engagement, de rejoindre celle-ci; tous les enfants qu'elle peut avoir seront sous l'autorité juridique et rituelle du mari légal, qu'ils devront un jour rejoindre. Les moyens de défense du mari ne sont que de l'ordre de la persuasion et de la magie.

On voit que dans cette première forme de mariage, le consentement individuel de la femme est loin d'être négligeable, bien que le consentement familial paraisse seul

compter. La liberté pré-matrimoniale nous place dans un contexte où la notion de consentement individuel ne peut que s'affirmer. Elle se manifeste normalement dans les mariages du second type, sans rien bouleverser des équilibres intra-claniques. Là, le consentement individuel vient d'abord, et l'accord des familles est généralement obtenu sans difficultés. C'est une forme de mariage qui présente quelque stabilité. Le problème est plus complexe lorsqu'il s'agit d'un mariage du troisième type.

Le mariage par enlèvement consenti se présente comme l'antagoniste du mariage de la première forme. Il s'intègre pleinement dans le contexte de la liberté prématrimoniale accordée à la femme. Le consentement de la femme à rejoindre son nouveau mari est rituellement exprimé, et ceci à l'insu du précédent mari. Le femme place dans une petite calebasse ses plus beaux ornements (ceinture, bracelets) et va la porter chez le mari de son choix, en lui fixant le jour où elle viendra s'installer chez lui. Cette calebasse est présentée par lui à son autel d'ancêtres, pour mettre la nouvelle union sous leur protection. Il peut le faire sans crainte, puisque l'offense à la famille lésée, qui est hors du clan, ne peut indisposer à son égard les ancêtres de son propre clan. Avant d'accepter ce signe, le nouveau mari avait dû obtenir le consentement de son père ou de son chef de famille; il est rare qu'il soit refusé, puisqu'on peut toujours arguer d'un enlèvement précédent dont celui-ci formerait la réplique. Quand la femme arrive chez lui, le nouveau mari la présente à son père, qui à son tour la présente solennellement aux ancêtres devant leur autel. Une courte prière rappelle à ceux-ci que cet enlèvement venge tel autre enlèvement ancien, et met la femme sous leur protection.

Ici, c'est donc le consentement mutuel des époux qui est primordial. Le consentement de la famille du mari s'y ajoute, en général sans difficultés. Mais la tension qui en résulte entre la famille de l'ancien mari et la famille de la femme (le plus souvent ces deux familles appartiennent à un même clan) ne s'atténue pas de sitôt. Les relations avec la famille de la femme s'amélioreraient plus vite, mais le sens de ses devoirs envers la famille du premier mari lui fait garder plus longtemps son attitude réservée. La famille du premier mari avait diverses possibilités de riposte, et le soutien de tout le clan lui était en principe assuré. Représailles d'abord, soit par un autre enlèvement, soit sous forme guerrière; recours ensuite, surtout si le clan ravisseur était réputé le plus fort, à la malédiction prononcée rituellement par le prêtre de quelque culte important. Il semble bien que la crainte de cette malédiction n'ait que rarement changé la décision de la femme et de la famille du nouveau mari. Il faut d'ailleurs replacer cet appareil de représailles dans le contexte que nous évoquions plus haut: cette forme de mariage était reconnue comme possible entre les membres de certains clans définis. Le fait de l'enlèvement ne pouvait prendre toute sa gravité que s'il était opéré dans un groupe vis-à-vis duquel on n'avait pas le droit théorique d'enlever les femmes. Nous verrons que l'extension indéfinie de ces enlèvements est un trait de l'évolution actuelle.

Si le mariage se stabilisait,¹ on était forcé de rechercher le consentement de la famille de la femme. Évidemment, celui de la famille du premier mari n'était jamais que tacite. L'indispensable rôle rituel des parents maternels oblige de toute façon les enfants issus du mariage à renouer les liens avec eux. C'est en général assez tard, au moment où ils ont atteint dans la hiérarchie des classes d'âge le degré qui les fait

¹ Cela n'arrivait souvent qu'après plusieurs mariages d' 'essai'.

considérer comme adultes, qu'ils peuvent se présenter chez eux. De même la femme, devenue vieille, peut alors sans danger fréquenter la maison de ses parents. Le consentement familial n'est jamais formellement exprimé, mais les rapports entre les deux familles deviennent tout à fait normaux. C'est bien le consentement mutuel des deux conjoints, rituellement formulé, qui est à la base de l'union.

Évolution récente du mariage et du consentement

La présence de l'administration européenne a eu déjà d'importantes conséquences dans le domaine du mariage. Dans ce domaine, comme dans tout le domaine du droit civil, l'administration règle les différends selon la coutume, à la condition seulement qu'elle ne soit pas contraire aux principes de la civilisation française. Le tribunal indigène est donc composé d'une personnalité administrative qui le préside, assisté de deux assesseurs chargés d'interpréter pour lui la coutume locale. Il s'ajoute à cela, dans le cas des affaires de mariage, la nécessité de faire prévaloir les règles posées par la loi Mandel : à savoir qu'un mariage n'est considéré comme valable que si le consentement des deux parties a été obtenu — et il faut lire, en termes français, le consentement des deux individus intéressés. Le nombre d'affaires soumises au tribunal — et dans la grande majorité des cas, réglées par simple conciliation — a beau être assez faible, les décisions prises n'en ont pas moins contribué à l'évolution des règles juridiques du mariage et des attitudes envers celui-ci dans toute la société considérée. L'affaiblissement général de l'autorité paternelle a eu également des incidences marquées dans ce domaine. Nous verrons que l'évolution s'est réalisée dans plusieurs directions à la fois, dont les contradictions ne sont pas encore surmontées. La direction générale est pourtant celle d'une valorisation plus grande du consentement individuel dans la forme de mariage où il ne jouait qu'un rôle secondaire. Mais l'institution de la compensation, qui s'est introduite et étendue, joue un rôle de frein, inégalement efficace.

Les cadres du mariage regardés comme les plus 'normaux' sont en pleine transformation. D'une part, le fiancé n'obtient plus une participation de main-d'œuvre aussi grande qu'autrefois pour le travail chez son beau-père. C'est que la notion de travail rémunéré a pris de l'importance. Il en résulte plus de tensions entre les deux familles, les prestations étant souvent jugées insuffisantes. D'autre part, dans des cas de plus en plus nombreux, le fiancé n'admet plus aisément la liberté sexuelle de sa promise : nous avons vu qu'elle était souvent cause d'une rupture rapide du nouveau ménage. Le poids de l'autorité paternelle ne s'exerce plus de façon aussi importante, l'emploi de la force est devenu difficile. Le mari se trouve donc dans une situation plus délicate lorsque sa femme le rejoint. D'où la tendance actuelle du jeune homme à courtiser sa fiancée de telle sorte qu'elle accepte de le rejoindre dès qu'elle est femme, ou au moins à prendre la place de l'amant officiel qu'elle aurait dû avoir. Les cadeaux qui ne se faisaient qu'à la maîtresse se font aussi à la fiancée. La recherche du consentement de celle-ci dans le cadre d'un mariage où il était au second plan, tend à retirer à ce mariage sa valeur familiale ancienne. Il arrive en effet que le mari, une fois sa femme chez lui, suspende les prestations et les dons qu'il doit encore à sa belle-famille. C'est donc une intrusion de la forme de mariage par enlèvement consenti dans le mariage par entente des familles. Il s'agit de cas extrême ; la tendance générale

est seulement de convaincre la femme de rejoindre le domicile conjugal, les prestations encore dues étant exécutées ensuite. Le résultat cherché, assurer la stabilité du mariage dans les conditions nouvelles où l'autorité et le pouvoir de coercition ont faibli, n'est pas toujours obtenu.

En effet, le mariage par enlèvement consenti a évolué de son côté et pris une extension plus grande. Il était dans une large mesure institutionnalisé, les directions dans lesquelles il pouvait se réaliser étaient fixées. Il ne connaît plus maintenant de frontières précises. D'une part il s'est étendu à des clans avec lesquels il ne se pratiquait pas traditionnellement, sans que le recours à la force qui était alors prévu puisse se manifester. Il tend à devenir affaire de choix purement individuel. D'autre part, ce que l'on pourrait appeler ses limites intérieures tendent également à céder. Si l'on ne connaît pas encore de cas où il se soit opéré dans le clan même, déjà des clans reconnus comme alliés ou parents ne sont plus exclus de son domaine. Il est difficile de dire s'il y a eu augmentation du nombre total des cas d'enlèvement consenti. Mais le champ dans lequel ils se produisent n'est plus le même. C'est à dire que le poids du consentement individuel dans le mariage n'a fait que croître. Mais un contre-poids a été créé, qui tend à en réduire les effets, alors que seuls l'autorité familiale et les équilibres claniques ne le pouvaient. C'est la compensation qui est due pour l'enlèvement d'une femme. Nous avons indiqué qu'elle n'était pas prévue autrefois. C'étaient les enlèvements entre clans déterminés qui se compensaient. L'élargissement du cadre des enlèvements n'assure plus le maintien de cet équilibre potentiel. D'ailleurs, la notion de compensation s'est imposée au tribunal indigène. Il se trouvait en dehors du cadre coutumier, qui ne pouvait prévoir de jugements. La seule façon pour lui de régler les litiges qui lui étaient soumis était d'utiliser cette notion d'origine étrangère: il n'aurait pu autrement que les enregistrer. L'institution nouvelle se répand, bien qu'elle ne soit pas admise par l'ensemble du groupe.

Les jeunes hommes adoptent cette mesure de défense contre l'extension indéfinie des enlèvements qui retire à ceux-ci leur caractère traditionnel. L'introduction du travail rémunéré a eu une influence marquée sur leurs conceptions. Le travail qu'ils ont accompli pour avoir leur femme représente à leurs yeux une valeur qu'ils perdent si elle les quitte. Cette perte doit être compensée. D'où le succès de la formule *n kwe de ba ye*, qui exprime leurs revendications; c'est littéralement: 'Cela (le travail) de moi ne consentira pas.' Ils exigent au niveau du village les mêmes conciliations qui se font au tribunal, ancien et nouveau mari étant généralement d'accord sur le principe de la compensation. Cette institution apparaît scandaleuse aux yeux des anciens; ils comparent la compensation pour une femme à l'achat d'une captive. Mais leur résistance se révèle inefficace. Et peu à peu la compensation tend à mettre en jeu les familles: à la famille de la femme d'intervenir pour fixer l'équivalence en têtes de bétail des prestations et dons fournis par le premier mari, à la famille du second mari de l'aider s'il ne peut payer seul. Il n'est pas impossible que le régime actuel soit une étape vers un régime où la compensation matrimoniale deviendra un élément essentiel du mariage. La résistance à son emploi dans le cas des litiges de divorce faiblit. On ne peut évidemment prévoir dans quelle mesure elle permettra de réintégrer partiellement le consentement familial dans son rôle ancien. La période de déséquilibre marquée par un plus libre jeu du consentement individuel, qui a dépassé ses limites traditionnelles, est destinée à durer encore.

Note ethnographique

LA population étudiée est une de celles connues administrativement sous le nom de 'Somba'. Le nom qu'elle se donne à elle-même est: les Betāmmadibe. C'est un groupement sans organisation politique centralisée: groupe de clans unis de proche en proche par des liens de parenté et des liens rituels, qui forme une unité linguistique et culturelle. Le clan est patrilineaire; il n'est pas exogame. L'unité du clan est affirmée dans le culte des ancêtres et dans les cérémonies initiatiques qui ont lieu tous les trois ans.

Résumé

CONSENT TO MARRIAGE AMONG THE BETAMMADIBE

THE Betammadibe of Naititingou in Dahomey have until recently been little affected by European influence. The author of this article shows, however, that European contact is now modifying the traditional forms of marriage and contributing to a weakening of family and parental authority. There are three types of marriage among the Betammadibe: the usual and regular form is the marriage arranged by the families of the parties, consisting of lengthy negotiations and rituals, during which payments are made and services performed by the bridegroom; the marriage is accomplished when the bride consents to cohabit with her husband. Until the final stage the bride, though regarded as formally married, is allowed considerable sexual freedom and is indeed expected to take a lover. In the second form, the parties have complete freedom of choice, but the consent of their respective families is required and usually given after the marriage has taken place. The third is a form of regularized abduction and traditionally took place only between certain tribes, the members of which in theory had the right to abduct each others' wives, at the risk of incurring reprisals. To regularize such marriages it was necessary to secure the consent not only of the families of the bride and the second husband, but also of that of the former husband. To-day, in the case of the first form of marriage, the sexual freedom allowed to the bride is resulting in an increasing reluctance on the part of women to cohabit with their legal husband. This has produced certain modifications in the regular form of marriage, as well as a noticeable extension of the form of marriage by abduction, which has become institutionalized and takes place not only between certain tribes but sometimes within the tribe; moreover, the idea of compensation payable by the abductor is now becoming generally accepted, partly owing to the setting of a cash value on labour due to the influence of the European economic system.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO AFRICA

ARTICLES submitted for publication in *Africa* should in general be not more than 8,000 words in length; they must be typewritten, on one side of the sheet only, and double-spaced throughout. Quotations from, or references to, other published material must be carefully checked and must give title in full, author's name, date and place of publication, page references and, in the case of periodical literature, volume and number.

Each article should be accompanied by a summary of 200-400 words for translation into English or French. Authors are also invited to provide a short statement of their official or academic position, previous publications, &c.

LORD LUGARD: A PRELIMINARY EVALUATION

MARGERY PERHAM

TO give the first Lugard Memorial Lecture¹ upon Lord Lugard himself is at once a task of great honour and of great difficulty. I need not explain to this audience why it is an honour: we know that we are here to recall the life and work of a great man, who was a creator of our Institute and for nearly nineteen years (1926-45) its Chairman. But the difficulty does need some explanation. I must attempt at least a preliminary evaluation of a life that was immense in the period of time covered and in the range, both in space and in character, of its activities. Yet I cannot assume that you have a full knowledge of that life since its story has yet to be told. Some here knew him in his later years; there are, indeed, some still alive who worked with him in the vigorous days of his prime. There is also his own vivid account of four of his most adventurous early years,² and there is the impressive documentation of his governorships. But there are large areas in his youth and even in his manhood which are still quite unknown. And when these have been explored the parts have still to be put together to form a biographical whole. Here is my difficulty: I cannot, in the time we have this evening, attempt both to tell the story, even in outline, and to comment. Yet how can the story and the comment be divorced? I must attempt a compromise. I must offer you something not much more than a chronology of his life, and tell you a little—and how little it must be—of some of his earlier, less known achievements; and then, assuming your knowledge of his later life, offer, in all humility, my first provisional evaluation. I emphasize provisional because my biography is only half drafted and there is much, especially between his leaving Nigeria in 1906 and the latest part of his life when I knew him, that is still, for me, a subject for research.

First, one word of personal explanation. As Lugard's official biographer I feel like a monopolist entrusted with a great treasure—and a treasure of immense volume, since Lugard was a man who kept every document which came into his hands and a copy of each that went out from them. The trust came to me because of accidental rather than inherent merits: the chance that my studies had covered much of the sphere of his work; that my travels had taken me in his footsteps to almost every scene of his African adventures and administration and, most valued chance of all, that in the last sixteen years of his life I was often able, in a minor capacity, to work with him and to enjoy his friendship and, I dare to say, his affection.

This will naturally raise the question whether biography is the proper task of a friend. I can only reply that I recognize that warmth of sympathy and understanding must not be allowed to rise to the heat of partisanship. Nor, on the other hand, in

¹ The Lugard Lecture was founded by the International African Institute in memory of its first Chairman. The lecture is given annually on the occasion of the meeting of the Institute's Executive Council. This paper, the first of the Lugard Lectures, was read by Miss Perham at the Indisch Instituut, Amsterdam, on 3 April 1950, on the occasion of the

24th Meeting of the Executive Council, and was repeated at a special joint meeting of the International African Institute, the Royal African Society and the Royal Empire Society in London on 20 April 1950.

² *The Rise of our East African Empire*, 2 vols. London: Blackwood & Sons, 1893.

the endeavour to achieve the temperature of history, must the writer withdraw into a frigid detachment. There is truth in the paradox of the Chinese sage (Lao-tze) 'to make up one's mind to be impartial is in itself a kind of partiality'. I am sure of one thing and that is that reverence—which is quite different from respect or affection—is the wrong attitude for the biographer, for it muffles our power of judgement and makes us forget that the living have an even greater call upon its services than the dead. This is because the issues with which a great man deals are, in their fundamentals, still with us and we must learn to deal with them by the recognition of his mistakes as well as of his successes. There may be a period after a man's death for certain silences, but not for false judgements which it may be difficult later to withdraw from currency. Thus it may be the hard duty of the historian who writes so soon to disappoint or even to offend. Fortunately, I can in all honesty feel that with this subject my duty will not be very hard.

Let us first review the immense stretch of Lugard's life and see how we can best divide it into periods. He was born in 1858 and he died in 1945, in his eighty-eighth year. The years fall, I think, naturally into five periods with the following titles:

- 1858-78 The Youth
- 1878-88 The Young Soldier
- 1888-1900 The African Adventurer
- 1900-18 The Governor
- 1918-45 The Elder Statesman.

I propose, in this selective compromise that is forced upon me, to characterize very briefly the first, the second and the last periods and to give my main attention to the African adventurer and to his first governorship. Those I believe were, I will not say his greatest years, for the stages are not easily comparable, but the years of fierce energy, of marching, enduring, inventing, and building with his hands and his mind.

First, a few words on the twenty years of his youth, for little or nothing seems to be generally known of this. He was born in India, in Madras, the son of a chaplain in the East India Company, himself the son and the brother of distinguished soldiers. His mother was Mary Howard, descended from Yorkshire landed gentry, a young lady strong enough in her religion and strength of character to force her way out alone at that early date to Southern India as a missionary. Already weakened by hard work in the steamy climate of Madras, she bore her husband five children in five years and cared for his step-children—she was a third wife—until in 1863 she was forced to return to England with six young children in a sailing-ship; it was a terrible voyage in which five-year-old Frederick met his first dangers and first showed his mettle.

His father was a man of great charm, gentle and deeply religious. I believe, however, that the steel and fire in Lugard's character came, by nature and by nurture, from his mother. He was brought up by her in a large family under the strictest discipline, based upon evangelical piety but sweetened and stimulated by her love and high spirit. It was a childhood of family prayers, of bible-reading, of religious conversation, of mutual service and courtesy, of family lessons and home-made clothes, of duty and hard work in a setting of poverty. Lugard's great joy was the Bible his mother

gave him: he spent hours—at six years old—poring over it and learning texts by heart until he would lie sleepless in bed crying over his sins.

His mother died after her husband's return to England in 1865, when Lugard was seven years old. The loss of her love and control was overwhelming both to the father and the children. Money worries were ceaseless and young Lugard was at times subject to moods of reserve and gloom. He was first sent to a Moravian school near Manchester where he was subjected to thrashings and a stupid discipline by German masters. After this he was sent to Rossall School, where he encountered high winds and a hard life, some bullying and the anguish of being short of pocket-money, but got a good classical education. From Rossall he went to Sandhurst, passing sixth of a thousand candidates. He gained this privilege after an education which, you will observe, broke most of the rules of modern educational psychology. The pious Victorian childhood, the youth in which the consciousness of being born a gentleman gave him the ambition for a life of distinguished service, while his poverty forced him into ceaseless hard work in order to make good his claim to it—here is a combination of influences which can never be repeated.

Part II, the young soldier, must be passed over very quickly. It was a period in which he was carried hither and thither about the world with the ebb and flow of Britain's imperial policy. The first forward wave swept him out of Sandhurst, after only eight weeks, into his regiment and out to the North-west Frontier. The impetus of the wave was Disraeli's imperial policy which, leading to a Russian crisis, eventually landed young Lugard, half dead with fever, in Peshawar, and then in the Khyber and Kabul to take part in the Second Afghan War, one of the most inefficient and fruitless campaigns in which Britain has ever engaged.

This was followed by three years of peace-time soldiering in India—the only place where he could afford to be a soldier. It was the India of Rudyard Kipling, of Mrs. Hawksbee and the fishing fleet on one side, of Kim and Mowgli on the other. There is no evidence that Lugard appreciated either of the contrasting extremes. His was the India of hard work on the drill ground and rifle range, of swotting up for examinations, in transport and Hindustani in order to get proficiency pay, of experiencing the delicious taste of danger in reckless polo, pig-sticking, and tiger-shooting. From here he was whirled off by the death of General Gordon to fight the 'Fuzzies' behind Suakin, this time on an imperial ebb-tide under Gladstone, a thirsty, bloody, and abortive little campaign, fought on account of national pique rather than for any rational purpose. From the deserts of Suakin he went as transport officer to the wet, feverish forests and river valleys of Burma on the third Burmese War, in which Britain conquered the kingdom of Thibaw.

It was at this point that an event occurred which completely changed Lugard's life. He had a great capacity for affection, which lay hungry and almost unsatisfied since his mother's death. After assuming in India a kind of cynical schoolboy aloofness from women, the first stroke fell upon his heart with crushing power. Then there came a moment when, wearied with the Burma campaign and sick with the peculiarly melancholy fever of that humid country, he came to England and found, in one moment, that he had made a complete and terrible mistake. With his ardent nature the double effect of fever and misery nearly destroyed his reason. He wanted to turn wholly away from all that belonged to his old life and seek forgetfulness in new

and dangerous courses. Danger was not easy to find in London, but he joined the Fire Service and went out night after night in reckless encounter with the great London fires.

This was not anodyne enough, and he was soon travelling, a nameless and almost penniless adventurer, sleeping on a filthy deck among Arab coolies and hanging round the cook's galley for whatever greasy remains might be left over. Thus he went down the Red Sea, being carried to Africa, somewhere, anywhere. He has told some of this story in the first chapters of his book.¹ He had read much of Livingstone who, after all, had died only some fifteen years before, and he hoped vaguely to employ, and if necessary end, his life in some useful anti-slavery effort.

This was how the promising and ambitious young officer, well on the way to a conventionally successful military career, was violently diverted from his course and flung into a new, raw, and to him, utterly unknown continent.

I must ask you to remember the condition of tropical Africa when, in April 1888, Lugard, after drifting vaguely down the East African coast, found himself being paddled by six natives, to the rhythm of a guttural chant, between the creeper-laced jungles on the banks of the Zambesi. The vast interior of tropical Africa was still largely blank on the maps; the sites of a few occupations had been marked on the coast or a little inland, and a few spidery lines traced the deeper penetration of a handful of brave explorers, Park, Livingstone, Speke, and the rest. The scramble for Africa had only just begun. 'When I left the Foreign Office in 1880', said Lord Salisbury, 'no one thought about Africa. When I returned in 1885 the nations of Europe were almost quarrelling with each other as to the various portions of it which they could obtain.' By 1888, claims were being staked on the coasts, but it was not clear just how the lines would run inland, what regions were best worth seizing, and how claims on paper could be made good in the vast, wild, unhealthy interior. The race was still to the swift and the strong. But the British Government, then isolated in Europe, was by no means ready to send official expeditions to take the physical, financial, and diplomatic risks of annexation. Individuals—missionaries, traders, and patriots who were neither—were outrunning governments, forming companies, undertaking tasks beyond their resources, and looking for men of strength, courage, practical ability, and adventurous will, to be the spearheads to penetrate and annex the new continent.

We find, therefore, that in the twelve years from 1888 to 1900 Lugard was engaged in five adventures in Africa and that the first four of these were in the employment of companies, two of them chartered and two trading companies. The regions were Nyasaland, Uganda, Nigeria, and the Kalahari (or Bechuanaland). The fifth and last adventure, again in Nigeria, was the only one in which he served the Government.

It is clearly impossible for me to sketch the crowded events of these twelve years, as full of drama and excitement; of daring escapes, forced marches, wild men and wild animals, of thirst and fever, of poisoned arrows and hand-to-hand encounters, as any imaginary adventure story written to thrill the blood of schoolboys. I can do no more than glance at some of the less-known aspects and incidents of this period and endeavour to measure Lugard's work in this breathless process of annexation.

The first two adventures, on Lake Nyasa and in Uganda, are fully described in the

¹ *The Rise of our East African Empire.*

book which was published in 1893, though there is much on the personal and political side that can be added. We know how he offered his professional services to the Scottish missionaries who were threatened by the Arab slavers with the fate that was befalling the wretched tribes around them. This area was then still a political no-man's-land. But in spite of a reluctant British consul, who knew he had an even more reluctant government behind him in Whitehall, Lugard led a little band against the slavers' stronghold. He fell as he reached the top of the stockade, shot point-blank by a bullet which went into his right elbow, through his chest, and blew the letters in his breast pocket into his left arm, leaving him to walk for two hours, with six powder-blackened suppurating wounds, to die, as all expected, in his camp. His resolute intervention may not have been decisive, but he certainly gained time for the hard-pressed missionaries and the African Lakes Company which supported them.

There were two other important results. He did not die and he forgot that he wanted to die: Africa had gripped him. The other result was that when Salisbury still hesitated to annex Nyasaland, or to intervene to protect the missions, Lugard remembered, junior army-officer though he was, that even Salisbury had a master. Thus he began, by writing and lecturing, his long appeal to the British public to interest itself in Africa, that has left on the shelves some fifteen large volumes of his writings and speeches. He was neither a brilliant speaker nor a brilliant writer but he had something to say and he said it clearly and fully—often too fully—and did much over the years to inform and influence his countrymen. Indeed, almost from the moment when he stepped upon African soil, though apparently down and out, he ceased to be a mere cog in the vast military machine and began to exercise his will upon Africa and upon international events.

Uganda was a much bigger affair than Nyasaland. The Imperial British East Africa Company, though it was hardly consolidated on the coast, was forced to reach out hundreds of miles into the interior, to Lake Victoria and the sources of the Nile, in order to keep the peace in that astonishing little kingdom of Buganda. Its people had just eagerly absorbed what they regarded as three new religions, Anglicanism, Roman Catholicism, and Islam, and were indulging in a three-sided civil war as a result. The Company had also to ward off German annexation personified by the intruding Karl Peters. Lugard took service with the Company and walked his caravan of Swahili porters and fifty so-called soldiers through that 600 miles of forest, bush, and open downland that was to be called Kenya, and on another hundred miles into the king's dangerous capital.

He marched in at a critical moment in British imperial policy. The old Liberals and Radicals, Gladstone, Harcourt, and Morley, were making a last stand in defence of their Little England policy, while Rosebery, young Edward Grey, and the new Liberals were drawing apart from them. On the other side, Salisbury and Chamberlain were beginning to face the responsibilities of empire. There are thus two sides of the Uganda story: one in and around Kampala, the other in Westminster. The Uganda side has been told in all its full and exciting detail by Lugard himself. We know how he obtained his treaty from the vacillating King Mwanga; how he kept the peace between the three restless, shifting parties; how he made his great march west and north to fetch the stranded Sudanese soldiery of Emin Pasha; how war broke out to be settled by one burst from a faulty Maxim gun; how he imposed his final

settlement. By this time he knew that the Company was withdrawing, that the missions could only support it for a time, and that all he was doing might go up in flames at any moment, and himself with it.

There was the other, much less well known side of this story, as each event in Uganda had its repercussion, five or six months later, in Britain. Here the Company and the missionaries pleaded for the annexation of Uganda; the Liberals, led by Harcourt and Labouchère, denounced this as 'jingoism with a vengeance', while between them, first Salisbury and then Gladstone hesitated to take the plunge into annexation. Lugard's name was batted to and fro like a shuttlecock in a series of parliamentary debates, a symbol of policy, his future, and indeed his life, at stake.

The issue was not decided when he arrived home in 1892, after three strenuous years, and flung himself immediately into the British end of the conflict. He made a whirlwind tour round Britain and to Livingstone's Scotland. As a soldier he was not allowed to talk politics, but he could give scientific geographical lectures and he did! Great cities gave him civic receptions; he wrote for the Press; he worked in the lobbies; as a social lion he met royalty, and dined and spent week-ends in all the great and lesser political houses. He wrote his book and shocked the brilliant Flora Shaw, colonial editor of *The Times*, by calling upon her and telling her just how to review it. In the end Gladstone was warned by his election agent that if he evacuated Uganda he would evacuate Downing Street. So the battle was won in London as well as in Uganda and in both places Lugard helped to win it. The victory was, indeed, a narrow one: there were strong forces against expansion, and the general attitude is expressed by *Punch's* two cartoons on the subject. One shows Uganda as a white elephant with the Company begging John Bull to take over the animal as he can do nothing with it. The other, at the date of annexation, shows John Bull opening his front door to find a black baby marked Uganda deposited on his door-step. Throwing up his hands in resigned despair, he says, 'What, another! I suppose I must take it in.'

Lugard's next adventure was on the other side of Africa. He longed to go back to Uganda but the Foreign Office, which then had control of East Africa, resented his masterful behaviour and feared his unpopularity in France. But a keen and resolute eye had marked his abilities. Sir George Goldie, that ruthlessly efficient and far-seeing creator of the Royal Niger Company, had marked him down as the ideal man for his purposes. His Company, though infinitely more prosperous than its opposite number in the east, was in grave political difficulties. It was in almost open conflict with the French over the disputed western frontier of its domain. Here, too, the Government was not yet ready to intervene. Thus Lugard, who at this time fell completely under the spell of this remarkable man, found himself in 1894 engaged in what the French called the 'Steeplechase for Nikki'.

Nikki was the reputed capital of the unexplored pagan kingdom of Borgu which lay in the bend of the Niger. Whichever national agent could reach this place first and make a treaty with its king would, it was believed, win the whole disputed kingdom. The rival expeditions started. Lugard had a terrible journey. He led men whose language he could not speak, in country he did not know, with two other white men only just arrived in the country, and with transport of donkeys which crumpled, as he said, like brown paper, in the ceaseless rain. On one occasion, when the whole

expedition was in danger, he went alone by night to parley with an unknown pagan king, a meeting at which they became friends for life. By the sheer fixity of his will he drove himself and his half-mutinous men through unexplored swampy bush, past hostile chiefs and kings, reached Nikki sixteen days before his French rival and got his treaty. On the way back his force was ambushed: he was struck in the head by a poisoned arrow, his servant dragged him along the ground with it before he could get it out, with a bit of his skull adhering to it, and he was then fed with every filthy nauseating antidote his men had with them.

Adventure No. 4 was of a very different character. Lugard was restless and unemployed after his Borgu expedition. Chamberlain, though now his firm friend and admirer, was unable to find a use for such a fierce and famous agent who was by now, not unnaturally, very unpopular in France. Still almost penniless, he agreed for a very high salary to conduct an extremely difficult expedition through the Kalahari desert, to gain a treaty and to prospect for minerals for another Company, the West Charterland. One of the main inducements was that he could take with him as second his younger brother Edward, to whom he was deeply attached. There is no time to tell this story with its almost miraculous triumphs over transport problems at a time when the great rinderpest epidemic had almost wiped out the oxen which should have drawn the wagons. He found neither gold nor diamonds. But he met and instantly made friends with the great chief, Khama, and he learned much, physically and politically, of southern Africa.

From his camp near that strange Lake Ngami he was recalled by a runner bringing him a telegram from Chamberlain which summoned him post-haste to England for his fifth adventure. A grave situation had arisen between France and Britain: the storm-centre was again in the Niger bend. But this time the Imperial Government, with a determined Chamberlain stiffening a less determined Salisbury, had at last decided to intervene officially. Lugard was commissioned to create the West African Frontier Force with the utmost speed and take it out to guard the line west of the Niger from further French penetration.

This is at once a most important and a fascinating chapter in Lugard's life. His relations with Chamberlain brought out the ever-latent conflict between the soldier and the politician who uses him; there were also his relations with the embittered Goldie who faced the loss of his Company's charter; there was the part played by Flora Shaw and Mary Kingsley—all these combined in deeply interesting human action behind the scenes. But the play itself was grave enough. Lugard's diary throws important light upon Chamberlain's rock-like determination on this question, even at the risk of war. And while Lugard's columns penetrated those of the French, with the hourly fear that the guns would go off by themselves, war was a very real possibility. But Lugard held the line and the countries came to terms. The storm-clouds passed eastwards from the Niger to the Nile where, it will be remembered, they hung for a time over the little post of Fashoda. These are incidents which France and Britain can afford to forget, or rather to remember, because of the courage and chivalry shown by the men who carried their flags through the African bush to the two great rivers, and because the story leads on to the happy ending of the *entente*.

What was the significance of these five adventures in the twelve years during which

tropical Africa was partitioned by Europe? It is tempting to a biographer to magnify the part played by his subject. But the movement was too multiple in places and persons for any one man to play a decisive part. Yet Lugard's contribution was large, and this was due to no accident, except for that first chance which diverted him from one continent to another at a moment of opportunity. It was due to a rare combination of gifts—the strength of his tense, small body, undefeated by fever, wounds, thirst, dangers, and the almost impossible calls upon its endurance through long days of marching in sun or rain. There was also his great experience as a transport officer, his skill in handling animals and gear and, above all, men. Men, too, of unknown race and tongue, who needed the right mixture of discipline, leadership, and the human touch to carry them through the dangers and difficulties of the march. Lugard was no doctrinaire or sentimental negrophile, but he carried the highest standards of his country and civilization into lands far beyond their influence, and once there he did not abandon them. He was always just and humane; he judged each man on his merits and was as quick to like and to trust an African as a white man. He did not stoop, as Karl Peters and, to a lesser extent, Stanley had stooped, to harsh measures which would have thrown a shadow on his name and that of his country. To this we must add his skill, dignity, and patience in negotiating treaties with African chiefs and his determination that the transactions should be as clear and honest as he could make them. And if he had all the qualities needed to meet the remorseless test of the Africa of his day—a test of mind and spirit no less than of body—he had also those other qualities which enabled him to fight his African battles in the place where the ultimate decision lay—in Britain, in the Press, on the platform, in the provinces, in Whitehall and Westminster.

All this is to say *how* he achieved what he did, not *why*. We come here to the most presumptuous task of the historian and the biographer—the attempt to distinguish motives. This can be done as yet only in a very tentative way. I believe, then, that Lugard had natural human ambition to the full. He also had a most unusually strong and independent will. He could hardly bring himself to work under another man. In Africa he found, like that great Frenchman Marshal Lyautey, whom in many ways he resembled, the perfect field for the untrammelled exercise of these qualities. But this unusual measure of human energy and initiative might have been turned to merely self-regarding ends had it not been for the bent given to his character by his early Christian training and by all the other influences—including his friendship with men like Sir John Kirk—which confirmed those early attitudes resulting from the child's training in self-discipline and the young soldier's in loyalty and duty.

Thus he set himself to serve his country and to serve Africa while at the same time he certainly thought it no sin to covet personal honour. In action the three motives were fused into one. I am sure he never admitted any conflict between them. To understand how this could be, it is necessary to trek and camp and fight with Lugard, as his diaries allow us to do day by day, and to see Africa as it was in the eighties and nineties. It was no black Arcadia; even if it ever had been that, it was now being ravaged by the Arab slave-trade. The raids which supplied it were spreading wars, famines, and demoralization over wide areas. Lugard saw slavery face to face as Livingstone had done. He met caravans of slaves on the march; he found ruined villages, and himself nursed in his tent slave-children he had freed. A man with an

intense belief in order, he loathed slavery, not with passion but with a cold, precise determination to end it. In characteristic manner, as well as repressing it practically, he made a deep study of it and became one of the leading theoretical experts on the subject. To him it seemed clear that nothing better could come to the divided, disordered tribes than British rule. The alternative, he saw, was no longer what some men would—in his view mistakenly—call ‘freedom’. It was annexation by some other European power. And Lugard had, I must confess, an absolute faith in his own nation. And so, though a deeply humane man, always anxious to avoid the use of force, he was prepared to use it in order to extend what he regarded as the priceless benefit of civilized government. Was he wrong? There were a few then who said that he was. There are more, including Africans who have not always studied their own history, who would say the same to-day. How can we judge such a question? I think that, until African history has moved on into a much clearer perspective, no judgement will be valid. In the meantime this country has tried to show in action, ever since these annexations, that they were right for Africa as well as for Britain.

Lugard, then, had helped to annex large regions of Africa in the faith that Britain could give them order and civilization. Now Fate seemed to turn on him and say, ‘Very well—make good your boast. You have annexed. Prove that you can govern!’ This brings us to the fourth period of Lugard’s life—that of the Governor. We have reached that part which is best known, described as it is in his numerous memoranda and reports, crystallized in the traditions and institutions of Britain’s largest colony, and later reduced to a philosophy in *The Dual Mandate*.¹

We all know that as High Commissioner for Northern Nigeria, which he took over from Goldie’s Company in 1900, he was the creator of ‘indirect rule’—that special application of a principle or device that was as old as empire. I believe that this first governorship, 1900–6, was his great creative period as an administrator. He might, indeed, have been especially trained by a thoughtful Providence for the task that now came to him. He was soldier, explorer, an expert on transport, on slavery, on prospecting, on dealing with native potentates, not to speak of Colonial Office officials, politicians, and public. He was asked to govern a vast new region, two-thirds of which had still to be conquered, a task which he achieved in his lightning, almost bloodless and only half-authorized Kano campaign. He had at first only half-a-dozen or so political officers, a handful of local levies and what must seem to us to-day a derisory grant-in-aid from a then economical Parliament paid out by a grudging Treasury. He filled the gap partly by the inspired opportunism of his political settlement, partly by driving himself and his staff—but above all himself—almost to death with overwork. And—need we add—as I have learned from a study of the archives, by fighting an almost ceaseless war with the Colonial Office which wanted this dynamic man to run Nigeria on a ‘care and maintenance’ basis.

I need do no more than remind you of the main feature of his famous system. It is sometimes said that he had no choice and was wholly governed by his shortage of staff and of money. But I hope to show in my book that within the limits set by these there was a wide choice of methods and that his settlement was based upon a considered respect for the people under his rule and for their institutions. He based it upon a claim to absolute sovereignty. Having frankly assumed full power by right

¹ *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*. London: Blackwood & Sons, 1922; 2nd edition 1929.

of conquest he then made a generous retrocession of power to the Emirs, forging an unbroken chain of responsibility from British Resident to village head. Rejecting the idea of two parallel systems, in law and in administration, he dovetailed native into imperial power and, after as close a study of native custom as was then possible, he devised a reformed native judiciary and system of taxation; finally came the elaborate rationalization of his instructions in his political memoranda. His policy was the rejection of two extremes—the almost complete native self-rule of the Indian States on the one hand, and on the other the more direct rule which he would have been able gradually to impose as his administrative grasp increased. The merits of the system are well known. It was brilliantly successful in practice. It was also remarkably economical. And it was a perfect shock-absorber for the moment of European impact upon a highly organized African society. It thus became a model, deliberately copied by some other colonies and influencing nearly all of them far beyond Africa.

A model! The very word suggests something static. A good system of administration is indeed liable to a peculiar penalty. Created by a man of high ability, it may become sanctified by its very success. Then it may be reverently or lethargically prolonged or exaggerated by other men until its active principle weakens and it hardens into the preservation of the outward forms. Has this been true of Lugard's 'indirect rule'? Here again it may be too soon to say. But I believe there was from the first an inner contradiction in the use of native kingship by British rulers, which at least one man, Sir Charles Orr, foresaw at the time. The contradiction could not then appear fully, and perhaps it was at first inevitable; it could become harmful if the conditions of the original settlement, through the lack of an active policy of reform and adaptation, should become crystallized. I do not think Lugard fully saw the danger, and when later he came back to Africa after an interlude (indeed, an exile from Africa in Hong Kong), he was overwhelmed by the vast jig-saw puzzle of amalgamating the two Nigerias, and extending indirect rule to the south, and by the distractions of the First World War. He was handicapped also, perhaps, by his own reluctance to delegate, and by an over-conscientiousness with regard to his office work which tied him too much to his desk. Thus it may be that he was not able to bring to the task of adjustment the administrative genius he put into creation.

Yet though I ventured to raise these questions, they are only questions. We cannot deal here with his Governor-Generalship of all Nigeria and, indeed, I have not yet fully studied it myself. Whatever answers it may suggest to our questions, Lugard will remain a great governor, certainly the greatest Britain ever sent to Africa and the peer of the best that India knew.

We come to the last period. I have little time and perhaps little need to speak of it: it is the period when many of you knew him either in person or by repute.

We cannot speak of Lugard's retirement; he never retired! From the moment he left Nigeria he continued with his long hours of work, sitting night after night until the small hours at his desk in his Surrey home among the pines and beeches of Leith Hill. What was he doing? What was he *not* doing? Writing—books, articles, reviews, prefaces, memoranda, letters to *The Times*, above all writing and then rewriting *The Dual Mandate*. Public affairs—sitting on select and standing committees, attending conferences, directing learned societies, encouraging African research, speaking in

the House of Lords. International tasks—the Mandates Commission, the Slavery Commission, the Forced Labour Committee. For the rest, entertaining governors, cabinet ministers, and distinguished foreigners and conducting a vast correspondence. He helped anyone who asked help of a kind that he could give, not perfunctorily, but with the care and entire concentration which he gave to everything he did. The fierceness of action and ambition had gone, but his energy remained. His nature had been sweetened by a late but inexpressibly happy marriage with the brilliant colonial expert, Flora Shaw. It was later softened by the abiding sadness of her death in 1929. He became more and more unselfish and gentle, anxious only to serve and quite unreasonably modest. It was the result, perhaps, both of his courtesy and of his physical strength that he never to the very last claimed any of the privileges of age. The British members of this Institute will remember how he presided over a long meeting of its Bureau a few days before his death, as zealous to the last for its reputation and good conduct as he had been in the days of its creation.

As we review this life I think we must be struck by the range of Lugard's gifts. These allowed him to adapt himself to the rapidly changing conditions of the field in which he had chosen to act. Thus he was soldier, explorer, administrator, and, in his later life, the man of the pen, the student and the philosopher, the chairman of scientific societies, presiding over research and a leading figure in all international colonial affairs. It is the last two facets of Lugard's versatility which are of greatest interest to us here. With them, as with his other manifestations, I think he did not attain new qualities and ideas but rather developed old ones. The germ of his scientific interest had always been there. As a pioneer traveller, still more as a Governor, he had recognized the need for knowledge deeper than he could then acquire, as the only basis for effective government and good relations with the people. He was humble enough, as not all Governors have been, to recognize the limitations of his own administrative intuition and to value what only the student and the scholar can give. Moreover, as the opportunity for more active service left him, his desire to work for Africa led him to seek out all ways in which he could still contribute. So, to the great advantage of anthropological research, he brought the dignity of his status and the wealth of his African experience to this Institute. He did not himself become an anthropologist: he appreciated the need for research in this field rather than its content. I would not like to state that he even read all the anthropological studies which were planned and carried out under his chairmanship.

The other apparent change which is very relevant to our Institute was the development of one who had appeared to be so militantly national into a most effective internationalist. But here, too, there was neither change nor contradiction. The Africa he knew in all its immensity and poverty could not, he realized, be civilized by one nation; as a good European who had adopted Africa, he believed that the colonial powers should keep in step and move towards common and defined ends. And perhaps the best internationalists are those whose own deep patriotism gives them the confidence to co-operate and a respect and understanding for the national feelings of others. But his desire for co-operation and research was based upon something even wider than the interests and duties of colonial governments. He realized the need to bring Africa into the wider world not only of science but of ideas and action for human progress. Hence the time and energy which he gave in later life to

the great experiment at Geneva, and above all to the Mandates Commission, the records of which will remain as evidence of his good sense and sincerity.

We have looked back over Lugard's life and seen that he was for many reasons a memorable man and that there are some special reasons why we in this room should remember him. But as we look forward we see that his work has relevance for the future also. This is partly because his work and ideas have so deeply influenced British administration, not only in Nigeria but in other parts of Africa, that they have become part of the Africa we study, as worthy of our attention as the older phenomena and, indeed, inextricable from them. The other reason is that, as the political control of the western world over Africa retreats or changes its nature, the cultural relations between the two sides will become ever more important. The Institute has, therefore, a great part to play in interpreting Africa not only to the rest of the world but to her own peoples. There are qualities in our first Chairman—his respect for other nations and other races, the confidence in our civilization which he carried unshaken through two world wars, above all, perhaps, his integrity of mind—which should inspire us in the task which he has handed on to us.

Résumé

LORD LUGARD: UNE APPRÉCIATION PRÉLIMINAIRE

CETTE communication constitue le texte de la première des conférences instituées par l'Institut Africain International, pour honorer la mémoire de Lord Lugard, son premier président. La conférence fut faite par Mademoiselle Margery Perham le 3 Avril 1950, à Amsterdam, lors de la réunion du conseil exécutif de l'Institut.

Mademoiselle Perham, qui doit achever prochainement la biographie officielle de Lord Lugard, traça les grandes lignes de sa vie, de 1858 à 1945, et souligna la portée très étendue de ses activités. Elle décrivit son enfance pieuse dans l'ère victorienne, ses aventures au cours des diverses guerres coloniales des années quatre-vingt et son affection dramatique et soudaine à un poste en Afrique, continent dont de nombreuses régions restaient encore à explorer. Entre 1888 et 1900, il entreprit des expéditions dangereuses et difficiles dans le cœur de l'Afrique, pour le compte de quatre compagnies différentes, dont les activités dépassaient l'action d'un gouvernement encore hésitant. Ses aventures furent plus émouvantes qu'un récit de pure fantaisie. Il prit part, également, dans les polémiques politiques qui furent soulevées au sujet de l'annexion des territoires africains et devint un ami de Joseph Chamberlain et de bien d'autres personnalités de l'époque. Finalement, en 1898, Chamberlain le chargea de l'organisation des forces armées de la frontière de l'Afrique occidentale et de contester à la France les frontières occidentales de la Nigérie.

Dans sa description de la période suivante de sa vie, pendant laquelle il fut Gouverneur de la Nigérie (1900-1918), Mademoiselle Perham traita brièvement du système d'Administration indirecte introduit par Lugard, du succès remporté par ce système à l'époque, et des critiques formulées ultérieurement. Ensuite, Mademoiselle Perham décrivit l'œuvre immense accomplie par Lord Lugard pendant sa retraite sur des aspects politiques, internationaux et scientifiques des affaires coloniales, et le volume énorme de ses écrits sur ces sujets, y compris son livre bien connu, *The Dual Mandate*. La diversité de ses talents lui permit de contribuer largement, et de diverses façons, aux affaires africaines, au cours des trois périodes principales de sa vie.

TWENTY-FOURTH MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

THE twenty-fourth meeting of the Institute's Executive Council was held in Amsterdam from 2-5 April 1950. It was presided over by the Chairman, Sir John Waddington, and was attended by fourteen members. Dr. Idenburg, of the Netherlands Afrika Instituut and a member of the Executive Council, who was responsible for the arrangements, earned the sincere gratitude of all members of the Council, many of whom enjoyed for the first time the amenities of Amsterdam and the renowned hospitality of its citizens. The Council also recorded its thanks to the Director and Secretary-General of the Indisch Instituut, Amsterdam, who graciously extended to it the hospitality of their magnificent premises, including a council chamber of more than ordinary beauty, a lecture-room, and a restaurant where exotic dishes from the Indies added their own spice to the proceedings. The same building houses the well-known museum of the Indies which includes, besides a comprehensive display of the products, industries, and commerce of the Netherlands Indies, numerous exhibits of great artistic beauty and ethnological interest, which would have repaid much longer study than the hardworked members of the Council had time to give them. The all-too-brief tour of the galleries conducted by the Secretary-General of the Instituut was, however, greatly appreciated.

In such surroundings even a business meeting assumes a certain charm and humanity, and, in fact, the meetings of the Council were distinguished by a spirit of cordiality and co-operation; the long Agenda was dealt with effectively and smoothly, and a number of important matters were settled to the general satisfaction.

Before giving a brief summary of the business discharged by the Council, mention must be made of the honour conferred on the Institute by the Netherlands Government which, in the person of the Prime Minister, Dr. Frees, entertained members of the Council to lunch at The Hague. In the old-fashioned elegance of the Hôtel des Indes members of the Council met representatives of the Netherlands Foreign Office, Ministry of Education, and other departments, and, among bouquets of many-coloured tulips, discussed food and wine of legendary quality. The Prime Minister, speaking in English, proposed the toast of the Institute with many flattering references to its achievements and expressed the keen interest taken by his Government and the people of the Netherlands in its studies and activities. Sir John Waddington, replying to the Minister's speech, referred to the notable achievements of the Netherlands people in colonial studies and in particular to the work of the Afrika Instituut.

After leaving The Hague, the Council embarked on a motor tour organized by Dr. Idenburg who, ably assisted by Mrs. Idenburg, also acted as cicerone; in the space of a few hours the party visited Leyden, Delft, Nordwyck, Haarlem, and the bulb-fields, absorbing a kaleidoscopic if somewhat confused impression of bare white-walled churches, seemly seventeenth-century houses, canals, sand-dunes, hyacinths, relics of William of Orange, and enviably neat and prosperous villages.

One other occasion enlivened the serious business of the meeting, when Miss Perham gave the first Lugard Memorial Lecture, which is printed in full elsewhere in this number. Her vivid account of the exploits of the young Lugard stirred the imagination of even the most uncompromising anthropologist.

BUSINESS MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL

Since its last meeting the Council had sustained a serious loss in the deaths of Professor Édouard De Jonghe, who was also a Consultative Director of the Institute, and of Professor Ida Ward. At the opening of the meeting on 3 April, the Chairman, Sir John Waddington, referred to these unhappy events, and the meeting stood in silence to express its respect and regret.

Professor Franz Olbrechts, Director of the Musée du Congo Belge and a member of the Executive Council since 1947, was unanimously appointed Consultative Director in place of the late Professor De Jonghe.

The most important item of business before the Council was to move its own resignation, in accordance with the Constitution, and to consider nominations for a new Council to hold office until 1953. Certain members of the present Council had indicated that they would not offer themselves for reappointment—Dr. Richards, because she would be residing in East Africa, Sir George Tomlinson, who felt unequal to the work entailed. To these are due the thanks of the Institute, not only for their valued and conscientious service on the Council during the last three years, but for their active interest and support over a much longer period.

Nominations for the new Council were considered, with due regard to the developing activities and the needs of the Institute, and the required number of nominations having been unanimously agreed to, the names of the persons proposed have been submitted to the Governing Body representatives for confirmation.

The Hon. Treasurer presented the audited Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended 31 December 1949, and pointed out that the account showed a balance of income over expenditure. He also drew the attention of the meeting to the fact that considerable sums of money, in the form of grants for specific projects, were administered by the Institute but were not shown in the Statement of Accounts, which therefore did not give a complete picture of the scale of the Institute's activities. If the total of such grants, and the activity they represented, were compared with the situation in 1938–9, a notable increase would be revealed, considerably greater than the increase in administrative costs over the same period.

The Hon. Treasurer also invited the meeting to consider a contributory pensions scheme for members of the staff of the London office which it was proposed to inaugurate, if approved, as from the current year.

The Administrative Director presented a report on the work of the Institute during the past year, which is printed below. Professor Griaule and Professor Olbrechts reported on recent achievements and current developments in research and publication in France and Belgium and their respective African territories; Professor Grottanelli gave a brief account of work proposed in Italian Somaliland.

The meeting gave considerable time to the discussion of a number of proposals for future work, including investigations in the field, documentary studies, and publications.

The Council unanimously agreed to invite M. Robert Delavignette, of the Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer, and member of the Council, to deliver the second Lugard Memorial Lecture in 1951. It also agreed that the Council should meet that year in London.

REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTOR ON THE WORK OF THE INSTITUTE IN 1949

The work of the Institute has continued to develop since the last meeting of the Council in March 1949. Action has as far as possible been taken on the resolutions and recommendations then adopted.

MEMBERSHIP

Membership of the Institute is now (March 1950) 1,104, and the distribution by countries is indicated below. 102 new members have been admitted, subject to ratification by the Council, since last April. Ninety-seven members have resigned or allowed their membership to lapse through non-payment of subscription. In view of the increasing contribution made by the Institute through its publications and information services a continued effort for the extension of membership is recommended to the personal attention of members of Council.

'AFRICA'

We are indebted to the Oxford University Press for their ready co-operation under difficult conditions in securing the prompt issue and distribution of our journal. The inclusion of reports on current and prospective field researches proposed at our last Council meeting has been carried out and there has been a ready response to requests for information from the many organizations and members concerned. A steady demand for back numbers and for complete sets of the journal continues. Unfortunately most of the war-time numbers of *Africa* are out of print. Since the demand for these numbers is large the question of reprinting certain volumes is being considered.

RESEARCH

(i) *Ethnographic Survey*. The British Government has, on the recommendation of the Colonial Social Science Research Council, approved the Institute's application for a renewal of its grant for the prosecution of the Survey. It has made a final grant of £5,000 per annum for a period of three years from January 1950, on the understanding that a programme will be followed to provide for completion within that period of those parts of the Survey that are concerned with, but not necessarily restricted to, British Colonial Territories. The Ethnographic Survey Committee prepared this programme last November, and approved plans for undertaking the following studies:

Somali, Danakil, and Galla; Nilo-Hamitic peoples of Kenya and adjacent territories; coastal groups of NE. Bantu; Kikuyu and Kamba of Kenya; Bantu Kavirondo; Lacustrine Bantu of Uganda, Urundi Ruanda, and adjacent territories; negroid peoples of Abyssinia; ethnic groups in Tanganyika; peoples of S. Rhodesia and Southern Portuguese E. Africa; peoples of Angola; Hausa, Kanuri, and Pagan peoples of N. Nigeria; Edo-speaking peoples of S. Nigeria; tribes of the Niger Delta; peoples of the Cross River and S. British Cameroons, with adjacent territories; Wolof and Mandinka in Gambia, Senegal, and adjacent territories; Ewe peoples of Togoland; Mole-Dagbane and other peoples of the Northern Gold Coast.

More than half these studies are already in progress.

In connexion with this programme Dr. Meinhard has continued his field survey in Tanganyika and adjacent territories and Mr. H. Gunn has gone to Nigeria for a field survey in the Northern Provinces.

Application was also made to the Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and a grant of £800 has been received for sections of the Survey relating to peoples in that territory.

Arrangements are being made for the following: Sudanic peoples of the Southern A.E. Sudan and adjacent areas; peoples of the Nuba Hills; the Nilotes (A.E. Sudan and Uganda).

The sections of the Survey relating to the peoples of the British High Commission Territories of Southern Africa have been prepared in draft and are in course of revision by Professor Schapera. The first sections relating to South Africa, which are being undertaken by the Union Department of Native Affairs, are reported to be in course of publication.

Arrangements have also been made with ethnographers on the staffs of IFAN, Institut d'Études Centrafricaines (Brazzaville), Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris), and the Office de la Recherche Scientifique Outre-mer (Paris) for contributions to the Survey on peoples in Afrique Occidentale Française and Afrique Équatoriale Française.

Work on the following is in progress: Peoples of N. Dahomey; Fon of Dahomey; Kotoko and Sao; Fang and Bateke in Southern A.E.F.; Banen of Southern Cameroun Français; Songhai; Coniagui and Bassari.

Meanwhile the following sections of the Survey have been completed and are in the Press or being prepared for publication:

The Ibo and Ibibio Peoples of S. Nigeria; The Akan and Ga-Andangme Peoples of the Gold Coast and adjacent territories; The Peoples of Sierra Leone Protectorate; The Yoruba of SW. Nigeria and Dahomey; The Nupe of N. Nigeria; Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region (Nyasaland, N. Mozambique and adjacent areas); The Bemba and related peoples of N. Rhodesia; The Lozi and related peoples of S. Rhodesia; The Southern Lunda and related peoples of S. Rhodesia.

Although, as will be seen, present plans and arrangements cover a very considerable part of Africa south of the Sahara, there are still noticeable gaps in the programme. This Survey is, as will be recalled, intended to present as systematically as possible our present knowledge of the ethnography of Africa, together with the sources for its further study, as a guide to scholars, administrators, and others concerned with African peoples. It is most desirable that the necessary funds and the services of supervisors and research assistants should be obtained to make the completion of the Survey possible within the next three years.

(ii) *Handbook of African Languages*. Of the four parts of the general series dealing in outline with Africa as a whole, that on the West African Languages (Part II), edited by Professor Westermann and including contributions from Professor Lukas of Hamburg, has now been prepared for press by Miss Bryan, and is being finally reviewed by members of the Linguistic Advisory Committee. Professor Basset has promised the manuscript of Part IV on the Berber Languages of North Africa early this year. Parts I and III on the Bantu Languages and the Languages of North-East Africa are in preparation under the editorships of Dr. Guthrie and Dr. Tucker respectively.

(iii) *Linguistic Field Survey of the Northern Bantu Borderland*. The two teams left England in June 1949, M. Jacquot and Mr. Richardson proceeding to the French Cameroons, and Mr. Hackett and Father van Bulck to the Sudan. The Supervisors, Drs. Guthrie and Tucker, visited the teams at the beginning of the research and spent approximately a month with them. Reports received from the investigators and the supervisors indicate that a considerable amount of work is being done and much valuable material is being collected, but it also appears that close adherence to the programme of the survey and restriction of inquiries to the problems of classification laid down will be essential for the completion of the survey in the period available. The field teams have recently been advised on this matter and it is proposed that Dr. Tucker shall visit the teams again in September. The period of field work is intended to be completed by October 1950. The possibility of extending the time in the field has been discussed by the Linguistic Advisory Committee and will be further considered in the light of later reports. This investigation has been made possible by the

generous assistance received from the French, Belgian, and British authorities, not only in the matter of finance but in the provision of travel facilities and assistance of all kinds. The Sudan Government has also generously provided internal transport for the eastern field party.

(iv) *African Marriage Survey*. Mr. Phillips, Director of the Survey, reports that he has received much useful material from Government officials in a number of territories, that Mr. Lyndon Harries has received a considerable number of memoranda, &c., in response to the circular letter of inquiry which was sent to missionaries in the field. Information from Roman Catholic Missions has been supplemented by a series of memoranda specially commissioned through the good offices of Archbishop Mathew. Dr. Mair, after her six months' visit to Nyasaland, is proposing to devote herself to the study of West African material. The team is expected to co-ordinate their results and prepare their report towards the end of the year.

(v) *Institute Field Research in the Belgian Congo*. Miss Mary Tew has sent periodic reports on her current field study of the social institutions of the Bashilele in the Belgian Congo. These have also been transmitted to the Director of I.R.S.A.C. She will return in May after one year's work in the field and will proceed to prepare her study for publication. She has been offered a post with the Institute of Colonial Studies, Oxford University, from October 1950, and has therefore asked permission to terminate her fellowship in September 1950 instead of continuing it until the spring of 1951. Undertakings have been received both from Miss Tew and from the University authorities concerned that she will be given opportunity to write up her field material without delay.

(vi) *Cameroons Research*. Dr. Kaberry has completed the manuscript of the first volume of her study which is concerned with the Economic Position of Women in Bamenda, with special reference to the Nsaw people. Arrangements for publication will be discussed with the British Colonial Office authorities who provided the funds for this research.

PUBLICATIONS

The following books have been published during 1949: A revised reprint of Professor Westermann's *The African To-day and To-morrow* in the Oxford University Press series 'Colonial Bookshelf'; two volumes by former research Fellows of the Institute: *The Bantu of North Kavirondo*, by Dr. G. Wagner, and the *Web of Kinship*, by Dr. M. Fortes; a study of *Umbundu Kinship*, by Dr. G. Childs, for the publication of which financial assistance was provided by the University of the Witwatersrand. Two additions to the Memorandum series have been published: *Some Problems of Anthropological Research in Kenya Colony*, by Professor I. Schapera (publication of which was financed by the British Colonial Office), and *The Lineage Principle in Gusii Society* (Bantu Kavirondo of Kenya), by Dr. U. P. Mayer.

The following publications are in the press: *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, edited by A. R. Radcliffe Brown and D. Forde, of which a French text is in preparation; *The Position of the Chief in Ashanti*, by Dr. K. A. Busia, for which a subsidy towards the cost of publication has been received from the Gold Coast Government; *The Basuto*, by H. Ashton, for which grants have been received from the University of Capetown and the Basutoland Government; an English translation of *Service africain*, by Robert Delavignette.

A study of *Nyakysa Age Villages*, by Professor Monica Wilson, former Fellow of the Institute, has been received. This study is a continuation of the work which Professor Wilson did with her husband in Southern Tanganyika and it is proposed to publish it as a Fellow's monograph.

AFRICAN ABSTRACTS

The new journal, *African Abstracts*, plans for which were discussed at the last meeting, has been successfully launched with the assistance of U.N.E.S.C.O. The first two numbers

have appeared. As will be seen from the title-page, an international team of abstractors is covering over 140 periodicals published in European countries, Africa, and the United States. This publication has been very well received and efforts to build up the subscription list are being energetically pursued. The advice and assistance of the Council in this task would be welcome.

COLLABORATION WITH U.N.E.S.C.O.

The assistance of U.N.E.S.C.O., which is gratefully acknowledged in connexion with the preparation and publication of *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* and of *African Abstracts*, already referred to, is also under consideration with reference to further projects set out in the programme submitted in 1948. In December last applications were submitted, through the International Union for Anthropological Sciences and the International Council for the Humanities, for assistance to carry out the plans for a publication on African Cultural and Social Values and for a programme of field researches for the more intensive study of these problems. These proposals, and the role of the Institute in the African field, were also brought to the attention of the U.N.E.S.C.O. Committee for the Comparative Study of Cultures, of which our Consultative Director, Professor Griaule, is a member. Copies of the Committee's report are available for study by members of the Council. The Institute understands that recommendations for the support of these projects in 1950 and 1951 will be considered by the General Council of U.N.E.S.C.O. at its meeting in Florence in May of this year.

LIBRARY

Increasing numbers of members, research workers, and other visitors are using the Library, and the record book includes visitors from many European countries, Africa, and the United States.

The Librarian, Miss Ruth Jones, who is a member of the Library Association and of the Association of Special Libraries and Information Bureaux, keeps in close touch with other libraries with related interests, and has effected exchanges of surplus books and periodicals through U.N.E.S.C.O. and National Central Library schemes.

The 107 periodicals received, the majority of which are obtained by exchange, are of particular value to students, and in connexion with the new abstracts journal. Additions to the staff have made it possible for the Librarian to undertake the Assistant Editorship of *African Abstracts* which is closely linked with her other work on the bibliographical card catalogue of literature on Africa. The work involved in detailed arrangements with Abstractors at the outset has been very considerable, and we are much indebted to Miss Jones for the great thoroughness with which it has been carried out.

One hundred and ninety-eight books and 205 reports and pamphlets have been received during the year April 1949-50. Most of these have been sent for review. Work on the classified card catalogue has been continued. Experience has shown the need for some revision of the classification and for checking entries in the light of ethnographical and linguistic information made available in recent years. This is skilled work requiring considerable knowledge of African ethnic and linguistic groupings. Recent inquiries concerning the duplication of the catalogue, by photographic methods, make the early completion of this revision advisable.

PRIZE ESSAY COMPETITION

The first part of the Prize Essay Competition has been concluded and prizes have been awarded for 2 essays in Lingala and 2 in Ewe. Fewer essays were submitted for this competition than in the past, only 5 essays in Lingala, 8 in Ewe, and 1 in Acholi being received. The second part of the competition, for longer essays in Wolof or Mandinga, Yao and

Tswana, is still in progress. This competition for essays written by Africans in their own languages was established by the Institute in 1930 to encourage the development of vernacular literature. It must be held to have made a valuable contribution to the very great increase in the amount and quality of vernacular publication over the past twenty years. At the same time the growing interest in vernacular literature has led to the establishment in Africa itself of a number of Literature Bureaux and other organizations for the encouragement of African writings. These organizations are necessarily in closer and more continuous touch than the Institute can be with local educational authorities and with local needs. The Council may therefore wish to consider whether the purpose for which the competition was established has now been fulfilled and whether its continuance on a necessarily small scale confined to a few languages in any one year is now desirable.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTOR'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

The Director visited the United States during the summer in response to an invitation to lecture at the University of California. The Carnegie Corporation generously contributed a travel grant to make it possible to visit a number of American universities and other organizations, particularly those interested in African studies. In the course of these visits he addressed students, faculties, and discussion groups on the work of the Institute at the Universities of California, Chicago, Pennsylvania, Columbia, and Harvard, and at the State Department in Washington. He met some of the members of the Seminar on African Studies organized by Professor Herskovits at Northwestern University. He also had discussions with members of the faculties in these universities, at Los Angeles, New Mexico, Howard, Cornell, and Yale, and with directors of the Carnegie Corporation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the International Missionary Council in New York, and the Dependent Territories and Trusteeship Divisions of U.N.O. at Lake Success. The interest in African social problems is widespread in the United States and means are being sought to canalize and develop this by establishing African studies in a number of centres. Intensive studies of a number of world regions have been developed on an inter-departmental basis in several American universities. These 'area projects' afford a pattern whereby African studies might, in addition to the vigorous centre established by Professor Herskovits at Northwestern University, Illinois, be developed in other universities in different parts of the country. There would appear to be a particular opportunity for such a development in the eastern United States where interest is considerable and widespread and there is much contact with African affairs through missionary and commercial organizations.

This account of the activities of the Institute over the past year may suitably be concluded by a brief reference to the present position five years after the war. A considerable part of our membership was maintained during the war, and the publication of *Africa* was suspended for only a short period. By the beginning of 1944 it was possible to begin detailed work on post-war projects for research and publications. Despite the grievous loss of Sir Hanns Vischer, who had served the Institute as Secretary-General since its foundation, and shortly afterwards of Lord Lugard, our first Chairman, this work went forward. It will be recalled that the present Council was constituted at a first post-war meeting in London in 1947, when the Institute had been able to re-establish relations with most of the organizations and personalities from which it had had such valuable assistance before the war, and when it had also been possible to appraise the changed conditions in Africa and in the world at large in which its aims could be pursued.

It is gratifying to be able to report that the Institute has fully recovered and in some respects surpassed the level of its activities before the war. The range of its work has been extended in certain directions and there are favourable prospects for further development.

Membership has increased by 3 per cent. as compared with the last pre-war year. Our annual receipts in Donations for General Purposes and Grants for Research and Publications over the past year amounted to £18,000 as compared with approximately £4,500 in 1938-9. We are at present engaged on five research projects: the Handbook of African Languages, the Ethnographic Survey, the Survey of African Marriage, the Bashilele field-study, and the Northern Bantu Survey. Seven research workers are at present in the field, and over the past year more than a dozen other research assistants and senior scholars have been engaged in studies on behalf of the Institute.

This increased activity is linked, of course, with the growing world interest in African social studies, an interest which the Institute's earlier activities did much to foster, while the experience gained over many years has enabled us to present with some authority the evidence and arguments for assistance in pursuing new lines of inquiry. At the same time the growing importance of African affairs and of the cultural and social problems involved has led to the development of new organizations on a governmental or regional basis for the furtherance of research and publication in the African field. The Institute derived great benefit, when resuming activity after the war, from the establishment of the Colonial Social Science Research Council by the British Government which granted funds for its first research schemes. It has established close liaison with the Office de la Recherche Scientifique Outre-mer, the Institut Français d'Afrique Noire (A.O.F.) and with the Institut d'Études Centrafricaines (A.E.F.) as well as with the Belgian Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale. Its own work has been assisted by the valuable series of field studies being prosecuted by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and it looks forward to close co-operation with the Social Science Research Institutes and University Colleges that are developing in British territories in East and West Africa and elsewhere. Finally, the new international organizations established within the framework of the United Nations are recognizing the need for further research and publication in connexion with economic and political problems of Africa and other areas. U.N.E.S.C.O. has already invited our advice and assisted some of our proposals for investigations and publications, and there is no doubt that in coming years the Institute will be able to contribute still further in undertaking the scientific studies that are so greatly needed for a sympathetic understanding of the peoples of Africa and for wise action in African affairs.

DARYLL FORDE

Membership of the Institute at 15 March 1950

Australia	10	French African Territories	33
Austria	4	Germany	9
Belgian Congo	79	Holland	18
Belgium	38	India	7
British African Territories	297	Italy	35
British West Indies	6	Portugal	4
Canada	5	Portuguese African Territories	20
Egypt	4	Sweden	11
Eire	7	Switzerland	16
Ethiopia	4	Union of South Africa	71
Great Britain and N. Ireland	281	United States of America	136
France	33		

Miscellaneous (membership less than 4):

Brazil, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, Indonesia, Iraq, Liberia, New Guinea, New Zealand, Norway, Palestine, Poland, Rio Muni, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Yugoslavia.

CURRENT RESEARCHES IN AFRICAN ETHNOLOGY AND LINGUISTICS

ETHIOPIA

Mr. van Wulfften Palthe, of the Netherlands Afrika Instituut, has visited Ethiopia and the Sudan in connexion with the preparation of a study on recent administrative and economic developments in Ethiopia; this study is to be published in Dutch but it is hoped to arrange for an English translation.

NORTH AFRICA

Professor Adolf Bernatzik, of Hamburg, is engaged on an expedition into the Atlas mountains with a view to studying the pre-Islamic cultural history of the peoples of the Rif; with the assistance of the French authorities he proposes to explore little-known areas of the Sahara and to study irrigation problems.

M. Guy de Beauchêne est actuellement en mission pour une étude de préhistoire et archéologie en Sahara; il doit visiter l'ancienne ville de Tejaza et les mines de sel abandonnés depuis le ^{vi}^{ème} siècle. Il poursuit son mission sous l'égide du Comité National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.

EAST AFRICA

Dr. Robert Gray, of the University of Chicago, is carrying out research in Social Anthropology in British East Africa, with the aid of a Fulbright grant. His area of study is the Mbulu-Kondoa region of Tanganyika; he will be attached to the East African Institute of Social Studies, Makerere.

AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE FRANÇAISE

M. Pierre Verjer vient de revenir du Dahomey où il a fait une étude sur la mythologie et la religion du Yoruba en mission de l'École d'Afrique (IFAN).

M. Jean Rouch doit partir en juillet pour une étude sur les Koromba de la Haute Volta en liaison avec les travaux des missions Griaule. En particulier il se propose d'étudier la migration saisonnière des Songray du Moyen Niger et du Gold Coast.

M. B. Holas (IFAN, Centre de Côte d'Ivoire) a étudié pendant 1949, dans la région du Nimba, Haute Guinée française, le Poro chez les Manon de Bossou, et a poursuivi ses enquêtes sur la vie sociale et religieuse chez les Kono. Il a exploré le gisement néolithique de la grotte Blandé découverte en 1949 par J. L. Tournier.

CONGO BELGE

L'Institut Royal Colonial Belge a envoyé au Congo une mission linguistique confiée à *M. le Professeur A. Burssens* de l'Université de Gand. Pendant une période allant d'octobre 1949 à février 1950, il a étudié les langues des environs du Lac Kivu et plus spécialement celle des Ba-Shi. Le Professeur Burssens avait aussi comme mission d'expérimenter sur place les mérites de deux appareils enregistreurs: le 'Brush Sound Mirror' et le 'Sonofil'.

Dr. J. Maquet, sous l'égide d'I.R.S.A.C., s'occupe de co-ordonner les connaissances

actuelles sur la structure des populations du Ruanda-Urundi et de faire des recherches sur des aspects encore inconnus de leur civilisation.

M. Biebuyck, sous l'égide de l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge, entreprend des recherches sur les tribus le long de la rive occidentale du Lac Tanganyika dans la région d'Iloira, la plupart des tribus de pêcheurs, notamment chez les BaZoba.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA

Mr. D. P. Morton Williams, holder of a Horniman Studentship of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and attached to the Department of Anthropology, University College, London, commenced in April 1950 a study of social organization among the Southern Yoruba and is working among the Ilaro in Abeokuta Province, South-Western Nigeria.

Miss Tanya Baker, a field research assistant of the Department of Anthropology, University College, London, arrived in Nigeria in April 1950 to carry out a study of the social structure of the Birom in the Plateau Province.

Mr. David Tait of University College, London, is engaged in field research among the Dagombe in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

DAVID TAIT, Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University College of the Gold Coast; research student, Department of Anthropology, University College, London.

DR. GUY ATKINS, Lecturer in Eastern Bantu Languages in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

MARGERY PERHAM, Fellow of Nuffield College, member of the Executive Council of the International African Institute. Author of *Native Administration in Nigeria*, *The Government of Ethiopia*, and numerous papers and articles; Editor of Nuffield College publications.

P. MERCIER, Directeur du Centre local IFAN, Dahomey; auteur de plusieurs articles dans *Notes africaines*, etc.

Notes and News

Entretiens internationaux sur l'Afrique à Royaumont

IL s'est tenu au mois de juin de l'année dernière une intéressante réunion internationale, organisée par le Centre de Hautes Études d'Administration Musulmane, sur les problèmes administratifs qui se posent en Afrique à la France, à la Grande-Bretagne, et à la Belgique. Dans le cadre reposant de la vieille abbaye d'Île de France, fondée par la mère de Saint Louis, une cinquantaine d'auditeurs des trois nations, hommes d'action et hommes d'étude qui ont passé de longues années sur le continent Noir ou en Afrique du Nord, ont cherché pendant plusieurs jours à comparer leurs expériences avec l'espoir de parvenir à mener à bien, dans les meilleures conditions, la lourde tâche que leurs pays ont assumée auprès des peuples africains. Parmi les conférenciers britanniques, se trouvaient MM. G. Allen, R. East, G. B. Masfield, E. W. Thomas, K. Robinson; la Belgique était représentée par M. Le Gouverneur Général A. Marzorati et M. Gaignaux. Les auditeurs français étaient surtout des administrateurs d'Afrique Noire et d'Afrique du Nord en relation avec le Centre de Hautes Études d'Administration Musulmane de Paris. M. Robert Montagne, Professeur au Collège de France, Directeur du Centre de Hautes Études d'Administration Musulmane, qui avait organisé les débats, se vit confier la présidence des entretiens.

Les principaux sujets abordés, ' Mise en valeur du Soudan anglo-égyptien ', ' Entreprises modernes de mise en valeur de l'Est africain ', ' Évolution sociale de la Nigéria africaine ', ' Protection du travail et évolution sociale au Congo Belge ', suscitèrent dans l'esprit des auditeurs de nombreuses comparaisons avec les problèmes qui se posent dans les régions de l'Afrique placées sous l'autorité de la France. Les relations de l'Islam en Afrique avec le paganisme ou le christianisme furent également évoquées.

L'atmosphère de libre discussion qui dès le début régna sur cette réunion de techniciens se révéla extrêmement féconde. Ces entretiens et leurs conclusions trouvèrent leur fin à Paris au Centre de Hautes Études d'Administration Musulmane. Le Recteur de l'Université de Paris organisa pour clore ces journées, une réception en l'honneur des hôtes britanniques et belges.

La réussite de cette initiative fait désirer qu'une nouvelle réunion ait lieu en 1950 à Royaumont dans des conditions analogues. Le problème de ces entretiens pourrait être encore élargi de manière à mieux apprécier l'ensemble des problèmes d'évolution sociale et économique qui se posent dans ce vaste continent, aux nations d'Europe.

Institut pour la Recherche scientifique en Afrique centrale

THE first annual report of IRSAC, for the year 1948, includes reports from the directors of its various scientific commissions and sections. Prof. Olbrechts, Chairman of the Commission des Sciences de l'Homme, in his report, sets out the methods adopted by the commission for the assistance and guidance of research workers, both those specially appointed to IRSAC and those already resident in the Congo. In the first case research fellowships for a period of two years are to be awarded by IRSAC; in the second subsidies towards expenses of field researches. Fully to implement this programme would require a greater number of trained ethnologists than existing facilities in Belgium can provide. Two ethnologists, Dr. J. Maquet and M. Biebuyck, graduates of Louvain and Ghent, had therefore been sent to study in London, under the direction of Professor D. Forde, Director of the International African Institute; one of these had also spent 18 months in the Department of Social Relations,

Harvard. Subsidies had been granted to two missionaries in the Belgian Congo to enable them to pursue their studies of African peoples in this area. At the instance of the Commission des Sciences de l'Homme, IRSAC had subsidized the biometric researches carried out by Professor Dory under the auspices of the Institut National pour l'Étude agronomique du Congo Belge; had made a grant to the Centre pour l'Étude de l'Art Africain attached to the Musée du Congo Belge, and had given its support to the expedition to the Congo undertaken by Mlle Boone for the purpose of preparing a revised edition of *Les Peuplades du Congo Belge*. Professor Olbrechts also refers to the assistance given by IRSAC to Miss Mary Tew, a research fellow of the International African Institute who is making a field study of the Bashilele of the Belgian Congo.

A Research Service for the Colonies

A RESEARCH Service for the British Colonies has been introduced by the Secretary of State with the object of creating a service with salary, terms of service, and standards comparable to those for research workers in the United Kingdom. Members of this service will normally work in the Colonies, but arrangements will be made whereby research workers in the Colonies may be able to work for a time at a scientific institution in the United Kingdom, and a scientist in this country to undertake research in the Colonies. All such work will count as one continuous period of pensionable service. Full details are given in the pamphlet *Appointments in His Majesty's Colonial Research Service*, published by the Colonial Office, London.

Higher Technical Education in the Colonies

A COMMITTEE has been set up to advise the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the development of Colonial Colleges of Arts, Science, and Technology and the expenditure of Colonial Development and Welfare funds allocated for this purpose. The committee consists of representatives of British universities, technical institutes and training colleges, of colonial education departments, and includes the Educational Adviser and Assistant Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State. Initially the committee will concern itself primarily with West Africa, where it is hoped that two new colleges, one in the Gold Coast and one in Nigeria, will be established in the near future. It will be the aim of these colleges to provide courses of Higher Technical and Commercial education as well as training courses for teachers and social welfare workers. They will also participate in adult education schemes, and will provide refresher courses and centres for the encouragement of arts and crafts.

Nigerians to Study British Local Government

TWENTY-ONE local government officials from Nigeria—fifteen Ibo and six Yorubas—are undergoing an intensive course of study in local government. After a period spent at a central training centre in Surrey they have been working in groups of three with various local authorities in England and, after a month in London and Oxford, will return to Nigeria in August.

Education Plan for the Sudan

THE Sudan Legislative Assembly recently approved a revised education plan for 1949-56, designed to promote a more rapid expansion of education. It is proposed that by 1956 elementary and sub-grade education will be available for 40 per cent. of the population of the Northern Sudan; this will mean that the present number of elementary schools, both

boys' and girls' schools, will be more than doubled by 1956. In order to provide the teachers required for this expansion, provision has been made to increase the yearly output of trained teachers by the establishment of new training centres. Secondary and intermediate education is also to be developed by increasing the number of government intermediate schools, although the rapid expansion of girls' intermediate education will not be possible at present owing to the lack of qualified staff. Adult education is to be developed side by side with the expansion of schools; there is to be an increase in the number of after-care clubs attached to certain elementary schools; the Gezira experiments among adult villagers are to be extended, and mass literacy campaigns, on the lines of experiments already carried out, are to be conducted in new areas. The plan also incorporates a comprehensive scheme for technical and commercial education, which includes pre-apprenticeship schools, evening classes, and training of selected candidates at a central technical school. A Technical Institute is to be founded at Khartoum.

In order to implement these proposals, a number of non-Sudanese will have to be employed, but simultaneously steps are being taken to replace non-Sudanese officials by sending selected graduates of Gordon Memorial College abroad, to England and Egypt, to obtain degrees; in addition teachers are being sent abroad on short courses.

Sierra Leone Protectorate Literature Bureau

THE report of the Literature Bureau for 1949 describes literacy campaigns conducted in Nongowa chiefdom, where teaching has been carried on during the year by five paid teachers and a total of 1,151 reading certificates have been awarded. In Dama chiefdom the paid teachers have been withdrawn at the request of the Paramount Chief and the work has been carried on by voluntary teachers under a Chiefdom Committee. About one-seventh of the adult population of this chiefdom are now literate. A literacy campaign was started in Kpanga chiefdom by eight young men, who after training at Bo were stationed in various sections, one of the teachers who had served at Dama being appointed supervising teacher. By the end of the year 425 reading certificates had been awarded to new literates. In this chiefdom and in Dama, Sande girls are being taught to read. In other chiefdoms voluntary work by missions has continued.

The Bunumbu Press has published twelve books during the year, one in Temne and the others in Mende, making a total of 54,000 books in Mende and 8,000 in Temne. There are also 25 manuscripts ready for printing. Figures of sales and income from sales show a rapidly increasing demand for books, the average annual expenditure per literate in 1949 being 1s. 8d. with the average price of books at 5d. per book. Most of the sales are effected through the central stations of the Mission; in the campaign areas a mobile bookshop has been of great value.

Since the majority of the new adult literates are in the smaller towns and villages, and constitute for the most part the younger section of the farming community, it would be as well if this could be followed up by literature of special interest to farmers, and also if possible by efforts, such as the encouragement of community centres, to make village life more interesting.

Bantu Studies in South Africa

A FACULTY of Bantu studies is to be established at the Potchefstroom University College this year under the supervision of Dr. F. R. Lehmann, for many years a teacher of anthropology at the University of Leipzig, Germany, who has been associated with the Department of Native Affairs for 10 years. A conservatoire of music, under Mr. C. Roode, for some time superintendent of music of the Transvaal Education Department, has also been opened.

Reviews of Books

A History of the Gold Coast. By W. E. F. WARD. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1948. Pp. 387, illus., maps. 21s.

THE author's aim is to supplement, not to supersede, Claridge's *History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti*, which recounts the history of those two colonies down to 1900. Mr. Ward has brought the story of the whole Gold Coast down to 1938, and in constitutional matters to 1946. He has made use of the writings of Rattray, Fortes, and Field, and has struck a better balance than does Claridge between the later Ashanti wars and the social and economic affairs of the country. 'Although this book is based only to a slight degree on original research among European archives', says Mr. Ward, 'it does incorporate the results of my own research among African traditional history.' Therein lies its weakness and its strength.

The origins of the Gold Coast peoples are discussed and the general course of the several migrations from north and east is indicated. The arrival of the present inhabitants is more recent than is often supposed, from the Guan in about 1350 to the Ewe and the ruling class of the Gonja in the seventeenth century. 'There is no nation now dwelling in the Gold Coast which has been in the country much longer than the European', who first arrived in 1471. The oral histories of the Ga, Akwamu, Akim, Ashanti, Ewe, and Dagomba are treated separately up to about 1733, and thereafter, the story of these and other groups as it intermingles with the recorded history of the Europeans. The use of these traditions and of anthropological material published since Claridge's work makes a much better-balanced story than that given by Claridge, which tends to be a history, not of the Gold Coast, but of Europeans in that country. Mr. Ward discusses the historical value of oral traditions in his preface. Despite their weaknesses, they are honestly told, and extensive cross-checking allows a reasonably accurate narrative to be pieced together.

The author's own researches are confined to the northern and eastern Akans (a big enough task for one man). Closer acquaintance with the south and west would have prevented some errors. The survey (pp. 90, 91) of the coastal States is inaccurate both for Bosman's time and the present day, and the changes are not as marked as the two lists of names lead one to suppose. Asebu has not 'lost its outlet to the sea', for example, and 'Jabi' is merely the old Dutch form of 'Yabew', still the old capital of Shama.

The main fault of the book springs from the neglect of original documents. The author says he consulted 'official files in the Gold Coast and in London', and there are, indeed, two references to a single volume in the Public Record Office; but in the main he relies on such works as Claridge and Crooks and, except for Bosman, neglects foreign sources even in translation (such as the Hakluyt Society's publications). Furthermore, the works on which he relies do not always support the statements he bases on them (p. 132, n. 7, p. 139, n. 24). This last note refers (incorrectly) to an unimportant French factory which existed from 1786 to 1804; but the more serious French efforts in the mid-eighteenth century are not mentioned. They led to the signing of the 'Fantee Recognitions' of 1753 and to the building of Fort William at Anomabo (which Mr. Ward merges with the earlier Fort Charles, though even Crooks makes the difference quite clear).

On the material he has allowed himself, the author treats events in the next century with interest and sympathy, and adds to our knowledge. But reference to original sources might have caused some revision of the treatment of the fifty years after 1828 (even Parliamentary Papers earlier than 1874 were not consulted) and would have shown the existence of eleven 'bonds' of 1844-5, not merely of 'the' bond of 1844. This last alone was mentioned to

and printed by the 1865 Select Committee—and thence by Sarbah and Claridge, and Mr. Ward following them.

The later part of the book is weakest in discussing the effect of legal enactments dealing with native administration, and is marred by much carelessness. The Ordinance is no more the institution than the skeleton is the living man. The Native Administration Treasuries Ordinance ceased in 1944 to apply to the Colony, and from that date did not constitute one of the three props of such local government (p. 342). The Ashanti Advisory Council (p. 345) was still-born and has never met. These and other such errors are unnecessary and misleading.

In brief, the book adds much to our knowledge of traditional history and is better informed than Claridge on the African reaction to various situations; but its neglect of contemporary records, even those written in English, leads to errors and is disappointing. We still await a definitive history of the Gold Coast.

There are eleven maps, six graphs illustrating economic and educational changes, and eight illustrations.

J. N. MARSON

La Négation dans les Langues congolaises. Par le R.P. G. HULSTAERT, M.S.C. Institut Roy. Col. Belge. Mémoires. Tome XIX, fasc. 4. Bruxelles, 1950. 60 fr.

THIS is a useful and interesting piece of work showing the great variety of morphemes employed to express negation in the non-Bantu and Bantu languages of the Congo Belge.

Monsieur Hulstaert's survey covers an immense area and from this evidence it is clear that all the morphemes current in the Congo, or indeed in Africa, cannot be traced back to a common source and probably have several different sources.

E. B. HADDON

Nwoma Krɔ̀krɔ̀n (Holy Bible). London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1948. Pp. 233.

THE publication of the Bible in an African language marks an epoch in the cultural history of the people who speak that language. This is so, not only because the documents of the Christian religion are now available for every reader, but also because the Bible naturally becomes a model text which almost necessarily influences the literary style of the language. Although Fante has been a written language for a considerable period and has also in recent years produced some books for general reading, it is still in its infant stage as far as fine literature is concerned, and it is to be hoped that the Bible in Fante will give a fresh impulse to Fante writers to make a new start in the cultivation of their mother-tongue.

This hope is the more justified since, as far as I am able to judge, the translation deserves unrestrained commendation. It is simple in its script, rich in expression, it has an easy and fluent style, and shows a full mastery of the language. There is, however, one question which might be raised: why are proper names written in their English forms and not in forms adapted to Fante? A person not familiar with English is unable to pronounce them, particularly since in these proper names letters represent values totally different from those in Fante (e.g. Jew, Pharisee, Cyrene, James). Why such a monster as Jewfo?

These are minor blemishes, and they have not prevented me from enjoying the reading of this good translation. The book is a valuable addition to West African literature.

D. WESTERMANN

The Nigerian Legislative Council. By JOAN WHEARE, with an introduction by MARGERY PERHAM. Published under the auspices of Nuffield College by Faber & Faber. 1950. Pp. xxi, 265, maps. 18s.

MRS. WHEARE's study, made during the war, was delayed in printing long enough to enable her to add a short section on the 'Richards' Constitution and the text of the *Order*

in Council setting it up. Before the book was published, a drafting committee was at work on yet another constitution which, it is proposed, should come into force in 1951 and be reconsidered five years later. Miss Perham's introduction, written when this latest development could be taken into account, brilliantly points out the essential features of the new situation—the crystallizing of sectional interests as 'the removal of the steel framework' of the central government comes within sight, and above all the open emergence of the conflict of interest between the Moslem north and the rapidly changing south. She cites the precedent of Pakistan. But where some doubted whether Pakistan was a viable State, Moslem Nigeria is the richest and most populous of the Protectorate's three regions and can make a case for a weight in federal councils that could be most irksome to its more advanced neighbours.

It is a far cry in politics, if not in time, from yesterday's Legislative Council, with its official majority and its powers confined to the southern provinces, to the Federal Government of to-morrow with elected African majorities in both legislatures and executives. But, as Miss Perham points out, a study of the old Council is 'the essential prologue to the constitutional act now being staged'.

Mrs. Wheare describes an interplay between Government and Council very different from the proverbial picture of the use of the official majority to force unwelcome measures on vainly protesting unofficials. Sir Hugh Clifford expressly stated that voting by officials was free unless instructions were given to the contrary. Sir Donald Cameron 'was generally able to avoid divisions by giving way in some cases and by extreme firmness in others', and by prior discussion in committees. Statutory Boards with unofficial membership began to be created after 1939.

The extent to which policy in detail has been determined by Whitehall is carefully examined. Mrs. Wheare shows that few of the recent measures emanating from the imperial government have met with local opposition, though the implementation of the Ottawa Agreement was more controversial, and the submission of the estimates to the Secretary of State before they are presented to the Council—inevitable if delay is to be avoided—has evoked protests.

The political connexions of the elected members entitled them to be regarded as representative of the Lagos intelligentsia, but the nominated members, even those selected from the Ibo and Ibibio Unions, spoke as individuals rather than representatives, and were frequently accused of ignoring their constituencies. The method of selection resulted in an undue preponderance of Yoruba members.

The subject of over-riding interest to the African members was the Native Administration system. The elected members criticized this up to 1941, when some of them allowed it to have advantages on the executive side. But they have been irrevocably opposed to the exclusion from the Native Courts of professional lawyers and British legal procedure. It is perhaps in the extracts on this subject that the book best indicates the shape of things to come.

L. P. MAIR

The Taita [The Peoples of Kenya]. By the Rev. P. G. BOSTOCK. London: Macmillan & Co. 1950. Pp. vi+42, illus., map. 1s. 3d.

THE Wataita are, as Schapera has pointed out, '... the least known of all the Coastal Bantu'.¹ The Rev. P. G. Bostock's brief and clear account is, along with Prins' recent article,² a welcome addition to our knowledge of the group.

Occupying three reserves (Dabida, Sagalla, Kasigau) in the Voi Administrative District,

¹ Schapera, *Some Problems of Anthropological Research in Kenya Colony*, International African Institute, Memorandum XXIII (1949), p. 13.

² A. H. J. Prins, 'An Outline of the Descent System of the Teita, a North-Eastern Bantu Tribe', *Africa*, xx. 1, Jan. 1950, pp. 26-37.

and numbering over 48,000, the Wataita engaged the attention of travellers passing through the region. Mr. Bostock gives a concise summary of the 'Origins and Early History' of the Wataita, compiled from early accounts and supplemented by traditional information. This section contains useful data on their relation to other groups. The 'Recent History' is similarly documented, and summarizes the activities of missionaries among the Wataita since the first, Mr. J. A. Wray, settled in the Sagalla area in 1883.

A brief account of 'Tribal Structure' contains information on the 'clan or group' (p. 14), which seems to have been a localized unit; on the three age-groups, and on those persons who were accorded recognized status within each clan. The author mentions kinship only briefly, referring to patrilineal reckoning of descent and giving a short list of kinship terms. Following a section on 'Appearance and Dress' is the longest part, on 'Social Customs'. Here customary practices at each stage of the life cycle, from 'Birth' through 'Sickness and Death', are presented, including a summary of former practices in connexion with marriage. In the subsequent section, on 'Ancestor Worship', some aspects of the relationship between living and dead members of the 'clan' are brought out. The paper is rounded out by one- or two-page discussions of 'Crime', 'Folk-Lore', 'Musical Instruments', 'Handicrafts', and 'Tribal Raids', closing with a longer description of 'Agriculture', together with some comments on present-day conditions.

The greater part of this account is in the past tense. Mr. Bostock carefully distinguishes between material culled from the literature and that gathered in the field (much of it with the assistance of Mr. Peter Mwang'ombe, an Mtaita). He appreciates that, considering the geographic and dialectic differentiation (five dialects are spoken), his generalizations may not apply to all the Wataita (pp. 7-8).

The Wataita, as depicted by Mr. Bostock, arouse one's interest. One would like to know more about their current circumstances. And there are numerous suggestions that comparisons, particularly with other Coastal Bantu and the Wakamba, would be profitable. One minor criticism might be made. The author could have assisted the reader by indicating the dialect from which he drew his terms; and he might have distinguished more carefully between these and the Kiswahili terms which occur from time to time.

ALFRED HARRIS

Aux Rythmes des Tambours. — La Musique chez les Noirs d'Afrique. Par le Rév. Frère Basile, des Frères du Sacré-Cœur, Docteur en Musique. Édité. 2238, rue Fullum, Montréal, 1949. Pp. 172, illus. et thèmes musicaux.

L'ÉCOLE industrielle des Sourds-muets de Montréal a imprimé là un ouvrage qui mérite tous les éloges, à part une dizaine de coquilles. La littérature missionnaire offre rarement un ouvrage aussi savant. Les musicologues seront grandement intéressés par cet ouvrage qui donne la clef d'un bon nombre de données sur la musique primitive de l'humanité et surtout sur celle des Soudanais, des Bantous, des Malgaches, et plus spécialement des Sotho d'Afrique du Sud, du Basutoland.

Les amis de l'Afrique verront décrites dans cet ouvrage toutes les variétés d'impressions qu'un Blanc peut recevoir en écoutant ou en voyant les Noirs chanter, danser, faire de la musique. Ces impressions, qui se présentent comme au courant de la plume d'un vrai littérateur, nous sont pourtant données ici dans une suite logique de l'analyse musicale. L'auteur raconte en même temps l'histoire de sa propre expérience de musicologue, successivement chez les Azande du Soudan, chez les Malgaches de Madagascar et chez les Sotho, encore indépendants et sans occupation blanche commerciale ni industrielle.

Dans un premier chapitre il nous décrit les danses du berceau à la tombe; dans un second il étudie la mélodie, la gamme et le rythme, surtout le rôle du tambour; dans un troisième il

parle de l'évolution musicale; dans un quatrième, il traite des instruments; et dans le dernier, son cœur d'éducateur parle ouvertement. Le style est net, direct, facile à lire, américain.

L'art musical nègre procède de l'idée. Le Blanc se pose facilement sur un piédestal devant le Noir. Pourtant la musique nègre est un ' langage d'un esprit qui parle à d'autres esprits '. Et les premières pages de l'auteur rappellent la grande compréhension du Noir que l'on retrouve dans les publications du R.P. Tempels.

Mais que veut dire au juste le Noir par sa musique? Lui la comprend. Nous cherchons le côté plaisant, sensible; la mélodie agréable. Chez le Noir la musique pense, mais aussi elle agit. Le tambour agit sur le groupe des voix, des instruments et sur le groupe humain. Le Noir est satisfait de sa musique. Avons-nous raison contre lui en trouvant sa musique pauvre? Le musicien noir parle pour les siens, se fait comprendre, agit sur eux, subjugué les esprits des plus vieux comme des plus jeunes. Rien n'obstrue le passage de son idée pour ceux à qui il s'adresse; il les électrise, s'il faut jusqu'au combat.

Le Blanc est venu s'installer chez le Noir, non pas vice versa: au Blanc de commencer le premier, à lui de comprendre le premier.

Rendons hommage au Frère Basile d'avoir parlé comme le R.P. Aupiais, ce grand Français, l'un des seuls à ne pas médire des primitifs. Son plaidoyer pour la musique nègre est éloquent en même temps que scientifiquement solide. La lecture en convient pour tous.

' Retrancher la musique indigène de la vie du Noir n'est donc pas simplement désorganiser sa vie, c'est la lui enlever, car c'est tuer son âme. '

E. POSSOZ

Notas para un estudio antropológico y etnológico del Bubi de Fernando Poo. Por CARLOS CRESPO GIL-DELGADO, Conde de Castillo-Fiel. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1949. Pp. 290, photographs. 40 pesetas.

THE term ' Bubi ' means ' man ' and was taken at first by Europeans to be the tribal name and then adopted as such by the people themselves. The Bubi have generally been reckoned as the most primitive of the Bantu; they were still in the Stone Age when Europeans first encountered them; now the author says they have undergone a cultural transformation perhaps more rapid and complete than any other African natives and are an example of what the Negroes may be in future when they have entirely assimilated European culture. In support of this somewhat exaggerated estimate, he states that 98 per cent. have been baptized and 86 per cent. canonically married. Today there is not a Bubi who does not speak Spanish, and 75 per cent. can read and write it. They show a truly extraordinary aptitude for mechanics; are much in demand in electrical works; and have shown themselves excellent watch-makers and microscope observers in the hospitals.

We gather that, after studying everything that had been recorded of the Bubis, the Count of Castillo-Fiel went to the island of Fernando Poo in 1948 to conduct the research, the results of which, embodied in this book, gained for him his D.Sc. He includes a few notes on the language, the quality of which may be judged by his treating the nominal prefixes as definite and indefinite articles; e.g. *El niño* = *O bolay*; *Los niños* = *A bolaay*. In all this he shows no advance on Juanola's grammar published in 1890. He does not say that he learnt the language; presumably he collected his information through Spanish. The first part of the book, entitled ' Anthropology ', contains, after a graphic description of the environment, the results of his somatic observations on 639 individuals from various parts of the island. The variations both in physique and in dialect indicate, he believes, that the original inhabitants immigrated at different times and from different localities on the mainland. According to census returns the Bubis declined in numbers from 20,873 in 1904 to 9,350 in 1945. Some authorities are of opinion that they are destined to die out or to be absorbed in the immigrant population from Nigeria and elsewhere upon which Europeans

rely largely for their supply of labour and which now numbers over 20,000, only ten per cent. of them women. But the Count is hopeful that, in view of the excellent Spanish medical service, the decline has been arrested.

In the second part, labelled 'Ethnology', the author deals with material culture, agriculture, fishing, games, family life, government, &c. He gives specimens of the tales, the telling of which is the Bubi's only art; these he has taken from Padre Aymemi, 'the apostle of the Bubis'.

Since he says that the Bubis have completely forgotten their ancient customs, that nothing remains in their consciousness but a dread of disembodied spirits, it is strange that the Count is able to tell us so much of their old beliefs and practices. It is true that often he writes in the past tense but in his description of various rites he appears to indicate that they are still practised.

As to their religious beliefs, authorities differ widely. The Count disagrees with Padre Aymemi, from whom he quotes at length, and who affirms that the Bubi recognized a Supreme Being named Rupe in the north and Poto in the south, creator of all things; after creating souls he put them in charge of (*las vende*, 'sold them') ancestral spirits. There was also a female deity named Esila, mother or sister of Rupe. All this the Count dismisses summarily as no more than 'an almost exact copy of Catholic dogma'; if Bubis say this was the belief of their fathers it is only to please the missionaries. In his opinion the ancient faith was 'a simple fetishistic animism', or alternatively 'an adoration of ancestral spirits motivated by the fear which these inspired', a fear such as slaves have for their master. The ancestral spirit has the class name *morimo*, the same as among the Tswana-Sotho Bantu. These spirits 'are not always bad', but guide their descendants in the good path. There is a hierarchy of nine grades of *morimo*; and in the Count's opinion, Rupe or Poto is one of many of superior grade who are guardians of agriculture, as also is Esila. The priestly class has almost disappeared in consequence of persecution by Church and State, 'because of the pernicious influence which they exercised over the primitive mentality of the natives'; the only three of them who remain carry on their practices in secret. The Count calls them 'magicians', 'wizards', 'sorcerers'—*magos*, *brujos*, *hechiceros*, as well as *sacerdotes*; the indigenous term is *Bojiammo*. The most interesting passage in the book is the description of a séance at which the author was present, having given the *Bojiammo* his solemn promise not to reveal his name or locality. The séance took place in a cave and was attended by a number of people who had come with gifts to consult the spirits. Seated in front of the *Bojiammo* was a young man, apparently in a state of extreme terror, who presently fell into a trance and wallowed convulsively on the ground. The *Bojiammo* then began to talk, as if asking questions, and seemingly from a deep pit in the cave came another voice giving the answers. The Count says 'frankly we could not discover the trick'; whether it was ventriloquism, or an echo, or a case of group suggestion: all he is certain of is that he heard the voice. He learnt that the dialogue concerned a man who was annoyed because his wife, after two years, had not borne a child; the answer the spirit gave was that he was to take her for treatment to the hospital in Santa Isabel and she would produce seven sons. The *Bojiammo* was a very old, white-haired man, with a face horribly disfigured by cicatrizations; very intelligent and well educated, speaking and writing Castilian, and very well disposed towards the white doctors who had operated on him for strangulated hernia. He begged for, and was given, a book about spiritualistic phenomena among Europeans.

The photographs and other illustrations are excellent; the Count's style of writing is clear and not unduly weighted by technical terms.

EDWIN W. SMITH

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CURRENT LITERATURE DEALING WITH AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

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Entries in this number cover approximately publications received from January to April 1950. A note on abbreviations of the titles of journals will be found at the end of the bibliography.

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ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES OF PERIODICALS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- Bull. Jurid. indig. Bulletin des juridictions indigènes et du droit coutumier congolais (Élisabethville).
- GLECS Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques (Paris).
- IFAN Institut français d'Afrique noire (Dakar).
- Sudan Notes Sudan notes and records (Khartoum).

Other titles are abbreviated in accordance with the International Code.

